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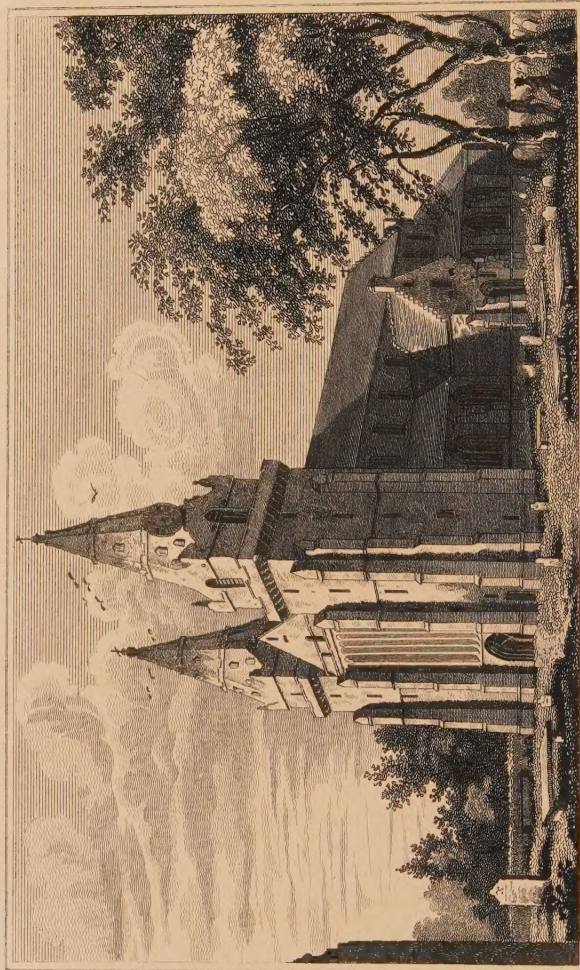
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# OLD ABERDEEN CATHEDRAL.

Scottish  
Abbeys and Cathedrals

BY

JOSEPH ROBERTSON, LL.D.

WITH

Biographical Memoir of the Author

ABERDEEN

D. WYLLIE & SON

1891

vest of his life's work was for the most part left for others to reap. The essay, republished in this little volume, is a sample of the quality of literary work of which he was capable ; but the laborious years of his mature manhood were mainly devoted to the task he loved so well of 'disinterring,' arranging, and elucidating the raw materials upon which every student of Scottish history must ultimately fall back. While he lived, his time and labour and his unique stores of knowledge were bountifully at the service of every scholar ; and the performance of his too brief career, though less showy than that of the eloquent writer of history, is in proportion to its extent of greater intrinsic importance and more enduring value.

Joseph Robertson, the only son and younger child of Joseph Robertson, and Christian Leslie, his wife, was born in Aberdeen on the 17th of May, 1810. The father, one of a family that had been settled for several generations in the parish of Leochel, had been in employment in London, but returned to Aberdeen on his marriage, and started in business in a small shop in Woolmanhill. He did not long survive, having died when his son was only in his seventh year. The widow, though left in narrow circumstances, continued, by means of the shop and with the exercise of economy, to bring up the children in a manner that did her the greatest credit. Her son was

put under the charge of the Rev. James Bisset (afterwards well known in the Scotch ecclesiastical world as Dr. Bisset of Bourtie), who had succeeded his father as schoolmaster of Udney, and who kept an academy or boarding school which held a high repute for scholarship and good manners. From Udney, young Robertson passed on to the Grammar School of Aberdeen and Marischal College. At school and college he seems to have been an average rather than a distinguished student ; but he acquired a good knowledge of Latin, which was of much use to him in after days. His bent at this stage of his life did not lie altogether in the direction of study. He was a bright and lively boy, and in after years there were lingering traditions of 'larking' and practical jokes in which he was concerned, perhaps as a leader. The students of his time made periodical raids upon signboards, knockers, and the like, and engaged in many pranks that would not be tolerated nowadays. Robertson was personally popular among his classfellows and contemporaries, and was distinguished for feats of strength and daring.

His most intimate friend in early life was John Hill Burton, who, like himself, had been left an orphan, who was with him at school and college, and with whom he left college to enter as an apprentice to the legal profession. Robertson's apprenticeship was served in the office of

Mr. James Simpson, advocate in Aberdeen, who had the reputation of being an excellent lawyer, as well as a man of literary taste and acquirements. Professor Grub, one of the few surviving friends of his early days, mentions, in his sympathetic and appreciative account of Robertson's life and work, written for the Spalding Club, that he became acquainted with him during the later period of his apprenticeship, and that they took part together in the debates of an association of young men of the legal profession, called 'The Society of Writers.' Robertson attended these meetings regularly, and, says Dr. Grub, 'spoke on almost every subject with great fluency, and with a fulness and accuracy of information for which he was even then remarkable.' He was not, however, much in love with the profession or the law. He had become a voracious reader, and was acquiring an ample knowledge of English literature and especially of its poetry. As opportunity arose he took long pedestrian journeys and became minutely acquainted with the topography, history, and traditions of the Deeside Highlands and of other parts of the north-east of Scotland. Politics were active, for it was the time of the Reform Bill agitation, and he plunged eagerly into the fray. His views on Church and State had an affinity with those of Sir Walter Scott, whose influence over him he would probably have warmly ac-

knowledge. As an Episcopalian, his sympathies were with the high-spirited and knightly cavaliers of the olden days. In modern politics he was a Conservative of generous sentiments nourished on poetic ideals. With other young men of kindred spirit he found a vehicle for some of his ideas in an Aberdeen newspaper of that day called the *Observer*. His contributions to it, however, were chiefly in the department of literary criticism. At the beginning of 1831 Mr. Lewis Smith brought out a venture under the name of *The Aberdeen Magazine*. Robertson was its principal contributor during the two years of its existence, but the other writers included several men afterwards known to fame, as John Hill Burton, Dr. Kilgour, Rev. Dr. J. B. Pratt (author of 'Buchan'), Dr. John Ogilvie (editor of 'The Imperial Dictionary'), John Ramsay, and Rev. Dr. Lillie of Wick. Another free lance of the Aberdeen press at this time was John Douglass Cook, the founder and first editor of the *Saturday Review*,—a mysterious personage whom nobody could quite understand. Most of these writers were Robertson's seniors; he was not quite twenty-one when the *Aberdeen Magazine* began. His contributions range over a wide variety of topics. His taste for topography, his love of scenery, and results of his pedestrian expeditions are seen in articles entitled 'A day among the Hills,' 'Deeside' (2), and 'Lochlee;' his bent for Scottish

history, antiquities, and the 'slashing' criticism of perfervid youth, in 'Logan on the Celts,' 'The Old Scottish Ballads,' 'Aberdeen Worthies,' 'Dr. Browne on the Highlands,' 'The Gazetteers *versus* Aberdeen,' and 'Remarks on Some Recent Writers on Scottish History;' while a sparkling *jeu d'esprit* entitled 'The Last of the Pights,' shows considerable powers in another vein. He wrote at this time, also, the well-known 'Deeside Guide,' by James Brown. Brown was the driver of a 'car,' or coach, on the Deeside road, and the racy drollery of his style of speech was successfully imitated by Robertson, who composed the greater part of the 'Guide' while staying in the schoolmaster's house at Ballater. One of his contributions to the *Magazine* is a serio-humorous review of his own work.

While all this was going on the law had been dropped. Aberdeen, however, did not afford much remunerative scope for a volunteer in the army of letters. A change of location became necessary. The beginning of 1833 found Robertson in Edinburgh, where for several years to come he was to be engaged in literary work, chiefly for Messrs. Oliver & Boyd, whose 'Edinburgh Cabinet Library' was then in course of publication. Two works of this series with which he had to do are 'A Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe and of the Progress of

Discovery in the Pacific Ocean from the Voyage of Magellan to the Death of Cook,' and the third edition of 'The Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.' Of neither work was he the author, but both derived not a little of their value from his revision, annotations, and interpolations. He had also a hand in perfecting Oliver & Boyd's well-known and invaluable 'Edinburgh Almanack.' It was during this Edinburgh period of his life, too, that he compiled for a London publisher, a little volume entitled 'Deliciæ Literariæ; a new volume of Table Talk'—a curious miscellany of extracts, anecdotes, and observations. In an address to the reader, he takes credit to himself for having at least endeavoured to avoid the common sources from which famous writers of ana have gathered their materials, and adds the expression of a hope that the fact of his having often drawn from 'fountains of Scottish history and literature' will not 'be deemed a fault by those into whose hands his work is most likely to fall.'

A work of greater note had at intervals been occupying his time and attention—'The Book of Bon-Accord, or a Guide to the City of Aberdeen.' A change of plan had taken place after the opening chapters had been printed. The first idea had been a compilation from previously published histories; but the author's researches

at the Advocates' Library, the Register House, and elsewhere in Edinburgh acquainted him with a great deal of unused material of which he availed himself as his task proceeded, with the result that the publication was delayed, that its intended scale was egregiously overpassed, and that a large part of the city was left to be dealt with in a second volume—which never appeared. The work as it stands is deficient in homogeneity; it wants connectedness and finish. With all its faults, however—faults which the author himself, had time and opportunity been at his disposal, would have completely remedied—'The Book of Bon-Accord,' so far as it goes, is incomparably the best work on the city of Aberdeen. Whether in point of literary style or of historic interest and trustworthiness the 'histories' of Thom and Kennedy are hardly to be mentioned along with it. It gives the history of the city down to the middle of last century, a sketch of its appearance in ancient times, and of its progress, extension, and improvements, with illustrations of old manners and usages, a description of the district east of Marischal Street, Broad Street, and the Gallowgate, notices of public buildings and institutions, and biographical accounts of eminent Aberdonians. The second volume was to complete the history of the city, and to include Old Aberdeen and the suburbs, with statistics, and

bibliography of local historic works and documents. But more pressing duties emerged, and Robertson himself would have wished, almost from the first, not to complete the work, but to rewrite it from the beginning. It is true, as Dr. Grub remarks, that 'no Scottish burgh is described with equal wit, learning, and ability ;' but the book is none the less too evidently a reflection of the author's own progress, while it was being written, in knowledge and research. The notes serve to indicate the archives he was ransacking, and there is much incidental wiggling of his two immediate predecessors among the historians of Aberdeen. In respect of plan the work is hopelessly defective ; but as a product, though a too hurried product, of Robertson's light and versatile pen and of his wealth of local lore it can never lose its interest.

He had carried with him to Edinburgh, or soon after his arrival there had become possessed of, the idea of getting employment in the Register House. 'The *ultima Thule* of my desires would be a situation in the Register House,' he wrote to Mr. Burton on the 7th of August, 1833 : 'My desires are towards the Register House, and about January I shall make a set upon it, and, if unsuccessful, then consider what is to be done next.' If the 'set' was made it failed ; and for some years his income from literary work must have been precarious and not too ample. In the

autumn of 1839—shortly after the publication of ‘The Book of Bon-Accord’—he returned to Aberdeen, having been appointed editor of a weekly conservative newspaper called *The Constitutional*, which had been started some years before in succession to the *Observer*. In this sphere he worked zealously, and had his share in the party polemics of the time. But occupations of another kind were to engross much of his attention. Before the end of 1839, in conjunction with his friend, Mr. John Stuart, advocate in Aberdeen, he had planned and carried out the formation of the Spalding Club.

The idea of the Club was first mooted in a conversation between Robertson and Stuart in Edinburgh, and it was further developed in letters that passed between them immediately before the entrance of the former upon his new duties at Aberdeen. The scheme having been so far matured, an advertisement was inserted in the Aberdeen newspapers stating that it was proposed to establish a Club, on the model of the Bannatyne, Maitland, and Camden Clubs, and the Surtees Society, for the publication of the historical, genealogical, topographical, and literary remains of the north-eastern counties of Scotland. The chief objects of the Club were to be the publication of inedited manuscripts and the reprinting of works of sufficient rarity and importance. A preliminary meeting of gentle-

men favourable to the project was to be held on the 23rd of December, and in the meantime any communications might be addressed to Mr. Stuart, who had consented to act as interim secretary. In anticipation of the meeting, Robertson prepared and issued in his newspaper an outline or rough prospectus of the scheme, heading it 'The Spalding Club.' 'The Raban Club' had been suggested for a title, he explained, in memory of the first printer in Aberdeen, and probably other and better names might yet be hit upon; but 'in the meantime', he proceeded, 'we do not suppose there can be any harm in making a temporary use of the name of the best of our local historians—perhaps the most graphic of our Scottish annalists—to head a few hurried explanations which we are requested to make as to the plan and object of the projected institution.' The proposed plan is then sketched—to bring to light manuscripts which remain in obscurity; to publish inedited topographical stores which are known to exist (some of which are specifically mentioned, and had been drawn upon for 'The Book of Bonaccord'), and materials for illustrating the civil and ecclesiastical history of the north-eastern counties which are still more numerous; to deal with the historically valuable contents of private charter chests, ecclesiastical, sheriff court, and town council records, and the records of many of the

regality and barony courts ; to print histories of a number of the principal Aberdeenshire families, about a dozen of which are mentioned by name ; and to reprint scarce works relating to the district or by Aberdeen writers. The meeting was attended by many persons of position and influence, a constitution prepared by the promoters was there and then adopted, and the first Council appointed. The Earl of Aberdeen was elected President, and Viscount Arbuthnott Vice-President. The list of the Council shows the kind of response elicited by the project of the two young Aberdonians. It is as follows :—

Lord Provost Thomas Blaikie, Alexander Bannerman, M.P., John Blaikie of Craigiebuckler, General Byres of Tonley, David Chalmers of Westburn, Thomas Abercrombie Duff of Haddo, Sir Robert D. H. Elphinstone, Rev. Dr. Farquharson, F.R.S. (Alford), the Master of Forbes, Rev. Dr. A. J. Forsyth, Captain the Hon. William Gordon, M.P., William Gordon of Fyvie, George Grub, Principal Jack, Alexander Johnston, W.S., Prof. Knight, Rev. Alexander Low (Keig), Hugh Lumsden of Pitcaple, John Whitefoord Mackenzie, W.S., William McCombie of Easter Skene, Dr. Melvin, Robert Pitcairn, W.S., Joseph Robertson, Prof. Hercules Scott, Bishop Skinner, Alexander Smith of Glenmillan, John Stuart, Rev. Alex. Taylor (Leochel-Cushnie), Alexander Thomson of Banchory, Thomas Thomson (President of the Bannatyne Club), and Sheriff Watson.

It is believed that the only survivor is now (1890) Dr. Grub, who was associated with Robertson in editing the Society's first issue, and whose services to it from first to last were of the highest importance. The issue referred to was the 'History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay,' in three volumes, with a comprehensive preface by the editors, and illustrative documents and notes. This work made a good beginning, and when the first volume of the Club's 'Miscellany' came out in 1841, Thomas Thomson, who was then the recognised head of the antiquaries of Scotland, remarked to Cosmo Innes, who had rather held aloof from the project at first—he 'did not believe that such an undertaking could be carried on successfully in Aberdeen'—that 'these young fellows will soon be ahead of us'; 'a kindly prophecy,' Mr. Innes long afterwards remarked, 'which has not been belied.'

In the volume of 'Notices of the Spalding Club,' with which its meritorious career of thirty years was brought to a close, Dr. Stuart enumerates the literary services to the Club of Professor Cosmo Innes, Mr. John Dunn, Dr. Grub, and Dr. David Laing, and adds: 'To these gentlemen the Club has been greatly indebted, but the member to whom it owes most of all is Mr. Joseph Robertson. He was one of its originators. At its institution his aid and advice on

quality of consecutive history. And he has swept the whole tribe of fabulists and tradition-mongers off the ground. The original documents in which authentic history is embedded are presented with scrupulous fidelity, and accompanied by every side-light that the amplest antiquarian knowledge could suggest.

Robertson did a good deal of other work for the Club. He was originally selected for the editing of Spalding's own volumes, the 'Memorials of the Trubles,' but had to relinquish it on account of other engagements. Another very important work, 'The Book of Deer,' was also undertaken by him, but had likewise to be given up. To the fifth volume of the 'Miscellany' (1852) he contributed a paper, embodying the results of much knowledge and research, on 'Scholastic Offices of the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.'

In 1843 he removed from Aberdeen to Glasgow, to become editor of the *Glasgow Constitutional*; and in the same year he married Anne, daughter of Mr. John Lanham, formerly of the the Wilts and Dorset Bank. At this period, in the words of his friend, Dr. Grub, his life was a busy and cheerful one, and he particularly enjoyed those portions of the year which he was able to spend at a pleasant residence in Argyleshire. The Maitland Club enlisted his services, and in 1846 he edited for it the Chartulary of

the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne, in Glasgow, and the Charters of the Black Friars of Glasgow. As in the case of his Spalding Club books, there is a long preface, and it dips into the ancient ecclesiastical history of Scotland, dealing with the constitution and objects of collegiate churches for secular clergy, and illustrating the history of the Dominicans in this part of the world—‘a narrative,’ says Dr. Grub, himself a foremost authority on such subjects, ‘as unique as it is interesting.’ He edited the fourth volume of the ‘Miscellany’ of the Maitland Club (1847), and was selected to edit for the same society the records of the University of Glasgow, a portion of the first volume being printed under his superintendence. He likewise assisted in preparing part of the first volume of the ‘*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*’—a work by which it was proposed to do for Scotland much that he was doing, through the Spalding Club, for the north-eastern counties.

It was at this period of his busy life that Robertson was requested, by Mr. John Gibson Lockhart, to write for the *Quarterly Review* an article on the history of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. The subject was congenial to him. Ecclesiastical antiquities had become to him a familiar field. He accepted the task and devoted his best energies, for the time, to its accomplishment. The subject grew upon him. It was

closely connected with his favourite pursuits in historical and archæological research. The article became a treatise. Superabundant amplitude of matter had to be condensed, so that the prescribed limit of length should not be exceeded. While studying severe compression Robertson was at pains to impart to his work a high standard of excellence in respect of literary form. The result was the comprehensive monograph republished in the present volume. It appeared originally in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1849. Lockhart, no mean judge, was greatly pleased with it. Dr. Grub says of it:— ‘On this article, as he himself (Robertson) then informed me, he bestowed much time and labour. No one at all acquainted with the subject can read it without seeing that this must have been the case; but the toil was well bestowed. It is one of the finest specimens of its class, and, unlike many papers on similar subjects, its style is as beautiful and appropriate as its matter is interesting and valuable.’ Further characterisation of a work so attractive in form and style and so instructive in substance need not be attempted in this place. It has long been recognised as the handbook of its subject, though only now is it being made readily accessible and in a convenient form. When it first made its appearance it entered on unoccupied ground, and, though much has been written on kindred sub-

jects during the last forty years, it is still unperseded. In the present volume its text is reproduced without change or omission, and hardly an expression in it will be found to be out of date.

Robertson's research extended, likewise, to the history of secular architecture in Scotland, with regard to which he contributed a paper to the 'Archæological Journal.'

Other pursuits, however, continued to occupy much of his time and powers. In Glasgow his journalistic duties left him in possession of a considerable margin of time, which he devoted to his favourite studies; but in 1849 he returned to Edinburgh to edit the *Courant* the principal organ of the Conservative party in Scotland. Some of his oldest and most intimate friends were in Edinburgh, and these gladly welcomed him back to the scenes and society he had left ten years before, a comparatively unknown man. Both in Aberdeen and in Glasgow he had done work that had brought him under the notice of all cultivators of antiquarian knowledge, and had given an ample foretaste of the greater things that might be expected from him in the fuller ripeness of his years. The special avocations towards which his mind was bent, and in which his strength had its most fruitful exercise, had now to be placed in abeyance at the call of arduous and engrossing engagements of another

kind. It was at this time that he had to forego the editing of Spalding's 'Memorialls.' The Spalding Club minute for 1849 records that 'Mr. Joseph Robertson, to whom the council had entrusted the preparation of the work, has reported to them that in consequence of new and onerous duties which have devolved upon him, he was some time ago compelled to relinquish all other engagements which he had come under to this and other societies, and that, although he was induced from his anxiety to produce a worthy edition of the work by which our patron is now remembered, to except the work in question when he gave up the others, yet he now finds that it is impossible for him to proceed with the undertaking. The council regret that they are thus necessarily deprived of Mr. Robertson's valuable services, which are so well known and appreciated by the members.' Though it was a matter of regret to him that he was unable to edit and annotate Spalding, he had the satisfaction of seeing the task fulfilled in the competent hands of his friend, Mr. John Stuart. In the editorship of the *Courant*, which was then issued three times a-week, Robertson applied himself with all his energy and ability to his onerous and responsible duties. It is mentioned in a notice of his career which appeared in that journal at the time of his decease, that he was selected from among many candidates for the

office of editor, that on his accession the prestige of the paper, which had begun to wane under a long interregnum, was immediately restored, and that its prosperity was, year by year, enhanced under his able management. The testimony of the *Scotsman* on this subject is worthy of being quoted :—‘ As editor he discharged his duty with industry and conscientiousness. His work was acceptable to the best of his own party. As could scarcely be avoided, we had our little controversies with him, and are, therefore, the more entitled to say that whoever encountered him as a controversialist had an opponent armed at all points, full of ability, full of ardour, yet without malignity, and incapable of departing from the paths of fairness and truth.’

At rare intervals came a brief respite from the daily round of journalistic routine. One of these interludes has been vividly described :—

‘ It was in the fine autumn of 1853 that he spent a week with some friends in the north, who were leading the rough half-pastoral life of a shooting-lodge. Robertson had not visited that part of the country before, but he soon showed that he knew its history well, and could enjoy its remarkable beauty. The youngest of the party were not too wild for him in their rambles in the old forest and in the rocky gorges of the river. He ran and climbed and swam with the

most active. But when the seniors wanted quieter occupation he was ready. They all knew the picturesque ruins of the abbey in the glen, but what a charm was added to them when Joseph Robertson recalled the foundation and endowments of the monastery by kings and bishops, and taught his pupils to find the farms bestowed in their charters, and the pools where the monks had special grants of salmon-fishing! How genially he described the peaceful life of the old monks—their labours of the field, the mill, the river; their building, their gardening, their studies, their church-service! He told how they got a Papal Bull to give them the right, and then worked iron out of those hills, where none is found now, though there are traces of the slag round the melting-pots of those old miners. The party returned with quite a changed idea of monastic life. Another day he led the same party away over some miles of heather to a remote moorland loch, in the midst of which stands an ancient strength, once the head castle of a great earldom. It was known to be of Edwardian architecture, and that was one attraction for Robertson. While they ate their luncheon on the green bank of the loch he told how the Countess of Athole had been besieged there by the Regent, Sir Andrew of Moray, and of Edward the Third's marvellous march with men-at-arms—heavy cavalry—through the fastnesses of Athole and Mar to relieve her. But the castle had another interest, for it was shrewdly suspected to be built on piles driven in the lake; and Robertson enlightened his friends with descriptions of crannogs and lacustrine dwellings, then little known. There was no time for

the investigation that day, and when he was gone the spirit and interest flagged.’\*

Although it is anticipating the order of time, mention may here be made of the fact that Robertson was of the party in whose presence the tumulus of Maes-howe, in Orkney, was opened in the summer of 1861, and that he was the discoverer of the first of its Runic inscriptions. A similar expedition, in which he likewise took part at a later date, had for its object to examine the sculptures on the walls of the caves at Wemyss.†

It was towards the end of 1853 that Robertson received an appointment in the Register House, such as had been the dream of his early days—that of Searcher of Records for Literary Purposes, afterwards renamed Curator of the Historical Department. The Ministry of Lord Aberdeen was then in power, and it was on the suggestion of Lord Aberdeen himself, who had taken great interest in Robertson’s work for the Spalding Club, that the appointment was made. In respect of emolument the position was inferior to that which he quitted, but its duties were less onerous as well as incomparably more in harmony with his predominating tastes and aptitudes. His first work was to arrange the mass of documents in his custody. This occu-

\* ‘North British Review,’ No. xciii. pp. 66, 67.

† Ibid.

pied him for some years. Many persons called upon him at the Register House. The records of which he had charge were understood to be accessible to students. Inquirers from a distance often came to consult them. Robertson knew better than any one not only what documents were in the collection but what were the contents of the documents. He was pre-eminently qualified to guide inquirers in their courses of research and study, and unstinted testimony is borne to the readiness with which he imparted of his own stores of knowledge, and the cordiality with which he lent his best aid to the many persons with whom his office brought him into contact. Nor were his labours confined to mere attendance at the Register House and what that attendance involved. Letters came to him from scholars at a distance, some of them in other countries, asking for information on all imaginable points connected with Scottish history and antiquities. Some of his correspondents led him into laborious researches. No intelligent person applied to him in good faith without getting a full and instructive answer. Mr. Burton, when writing his 'History of Scotland,' used to compare notes with him, and records that 'If you had a casual discussion with Robertson on some obscure point, you were sure to receive from him next morning a letter full of minute and curious erudition concerning it.' At one time the Dean of

Westminster (Stanley) engages him in a correspondence concerning the history of the Coronation Stone, once at Scone but carried to England by Edward I. nearly six centuries ago. The Comte de Montalembert consults him about the rise and early history of Christianity in that portion of 'the West' which is comprehended in the British Isles. When Dr. Reeves, afterwards Dean of Armagh, was preparing his highly important works on early Christianity in Scotland—his edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* and 'The Culdees of the British Islands as they appear in History'—he availed himself of Robertson's always ungrudging assistance. So, likewise, Dr. W. F. Skene bears testimony to the ready and valuable assistance he received from him in preparing his edition of the 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' and to the great aid he derived in tracing the history of the Celtic church from the 'very remarkable essay' republished in this volume, and from Robertson's other essay on the 'Scholastic Offices,' as well as from his last and greatest work, of which we have still to give an account. 'It is cause of much regret,' says Dr. Skene, in the preface to the second volume of his 'Celtic Scotland,' 'that this accurate and acute historian did not live to devote his great abilities and extensive research to a complete history of the church, which would have rendered the present attempt unnecessary.'

It may be said, indeed, that every contemporary writer of Scottish history has derived material advantage from Robertson's personal assistance while he lived, as well as from his work at the Register House and his published writings.

At the Register House he received his visitors in 'the noble hall added in Thomas Thomson's time,' containing, as it did, the registers of the Parliament and the Privy Council, the rolls and books of account of the great offices of State, and the register of the Great Seal. Here would meet two or three friends working on kindred subjects. Difficulties would be communicated. 'Then,' we are told by a writer who must have been one of the group, 'ensued pleasant disputes, and then shone forth Robertson's accurate knowledge and marvellous memory. His precision was not offensive, there was so much gentleness and modesty in his manner. These qualities, with the ready use of the historical stores in his custody, soon reached beyond the circle of his friends and made his room the haunt of most students of history and scholars worthy of the name.' In all manner of disputed questions, and in litigations involving points of charter lore, of family history, perhaps, or of ancient custom, his aid was sought. In the contention between Edinburgh and Dublin for precedence, his patriotism and his learning served the cause of the city of his adoption. Questions

of boundary and territorial rights, of old tithe valuations, of ancient dignities, like the dukedom of Chatelherault, and of the revision of the canons and constitutions of his own Episcopal Church—all received illumination from him as they were being brought to an issue. And while busily engaged in the discharge of multifarious duties of a more or less public kind, he found time for a considerable amount of literary activity. To the original edition of ‘Chambers’s Encyclopædia’, of which his friend Dr. Andrew Findlater was acting editor, he contributed the articles on—

‘Archæology, Bajan or Bejan, Bajimont’s Roll, Bannatyne Club, Bartizan, Beehive Houses, Bell-Book-and-Candle, Bestiaires, Booths (Merchants), Boots or Bootikins, Branks, Brehon Laws, Brets (Law of), Bronze Period of History, Burghs (Royal), Right of Barony and Royalty, By-law, Cairns, Celt, Charters (Royal), Chartulary, Chasuble, Clog Almanac, Columba, Columban, Contractions, Courthand, Crannogs, Cromlech, Cruithne, Culdees, Cumyn Family, Currach, Cuthbert, Cyclopean Architecture, Dalaradia, Dalriada, Date, David I., Deir (Book of), Diplomatics, Dolmen, Doomesday Book, Douglas Family, Drowning, Eadmer of Canterbury, Earth Houses, Ecclesiology, Elf Arrowheads, Fillan (St.), Flint Implements and Weapons, Fools (Feast of), Fordun (John of), Gordon Family, Gordon (Patrick), Hamilton Family, Harlaw (Battle of), Harry (Blind), Holyrood, Homil-

don, Inchcolm, Inchkeith, Iona, John o' Groat's, Jouns, Keith Family, Kelso, Leslie Family, Lindsay (Sir David), Macbeth, Maiden, Mary Stuart, Melrose, Mungo, Oghams, Orientation, Ossian, Palæography, Picts' Houses.'

Some of these articles are comparatively unimportant or serve mainly, besides the immediate purpose of giving briefly the most general information on the subject, the further purpose of indicating where it may be more fully studied, while others have been fittingly characterised as themselves 'examples and models of condensed result of study.' The Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries and other publications, concerned chiefly with archæological matters, were likewise enriched by occasional contributions from his pen.

One of his most important works also belongs to these busy and fruitful early days of his official connection with the Register House. His official superior as Lord Clerk Register at that time was the Marquis of Dalhousie, for whom, in his private capacity, he edited the Inventories of Jewels, Dresses, Furniture, Books, and Paintings of Queen Mary, published by the Bannatyne Club. To these interesting catalogues, which are reproduced from the originals, he added an illustrative preface of more than a hundred pages, full of the most curious information,

derived from a great multiplicity of contemporary sources, throwing light upon the personal life of the Queen herself, upon the character of the various persons about her court, and upon many of the salient acts and incidents of her reign. It is known that in many cases immense labour was bestowed by him in clearing up doubtful points. In illustration of this, Dr. Grub quotes a passage from a letter he received from Robertson, raising a particular question of fact with regard to John Leslie, Abbot of Lindores and Bishop of Ross, and adding :—‘ I should be sorry to think it would give you as much trouble to solve these difficulties as it cost me to discover who it was that was called “l’evesque de lenders” by the Queen. She writes a bad hand, and her “lenders” was read “venders” and “tenders” by myself and others, till a happy inspiration revealed the true reading of “Lindores” to me.’ This is an example of one of the classes of difficulties that beset the original investigator in the fields of antiquarian study. Robertson was possessed of the true scientific spirit : he was at infinite pains to verify his facts and to read them correctly. In historical investigation he was absolutely without partiality, took nothing for granted, and asserted nothing for which he had not proof; and with respect to Queen Mary and her reign he was largely instrumental, without taking sides, or deviating by one hair’s-breadth

from the course of simple narration, to clear away much of the mass of error which partisanship and carelessness had served to create and perpetuate.

In the spring of 1864—not long after his work on Queen Mary had been printed and circulated—the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh. Along with him were laureated two of his worthiest friends and fellow-labourers—John Hill Burton and David Laing. The three were presented by one not less worthy—the Professor of History, Mr. Cosmo Innes.

By this time he had in hand, under Sir William Gibson-Craig, now Lord Clerk Register, a comprehensive scheme of Record publications similar to that which was being carried out in England under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. In June, 1864, Sir William represented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Gladstone) the expediency of making the historical documents in his custody generally available by printing a series of calendars and reproductions of national manuscripts; and in order that the scope and purpose of the scheme might be adequately appreciated, he submitted a memorandum which Robertson had prepared. The Lords of the Treasury had the matter under consideration for a long time, with the result that the scheme was ultimately sanctioned, an ad-

dition being made to Robertson's emoluments in respect of the new and responsible duties which it imposed upon him. The plan, as he sketched it out, included calendars of the State Papers of each reign from 1488 to the Union; facsimiles, by photo-zincography, of some of the most important historical documents; and the publication of various chronicles and memorials. During what remained of his life he was constantly engaged in collecting and arranging the materials and otherwise completing the preparatory details of this great scheme. In the earliest volume of the series—the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* and other early *Memorials of Scottish History*—Dr. Skene, by whom it was edited, acknowledges the advantages he had derived throughout the greater part of its progress from Robertson's assistance; and in an introductory note by Sir William Gibson-Craig to the first part of the facsimiles of national manuscripts we read:—‘I entrusted the selection of the documents to the late Dr. Joseph Robertson, Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, and the greatest Record scholar in Scotland; and as that most learned and excellent man died just as the last of these manuscripts had been photographed, I desire to associate his name with a work in which he took so deep an interest that he was occupied upon it on his deathbed and almost to the last hour of his life.’

Another of Robertson's most important works, also belonging to this latest period of his life, has still to be mentioned, namely, the 'Concilia Scotiæ: Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Statuta, tam Provincialia quam Synodalia, quæ supersunt 1225-1559,' issued in two volumes by the Bannatyne Club at the end of 1866. With the ecclesiastical history of Scotland he had long been minutely acquainted. As an erudite as well as zealous Episcopalian, he had been consulted by the clergy of that Communion in revising their canons and constitutions; and one of the unaccomplished purposes of his later years was to write a history of 'the Aberdeen Doctors' and the other great divines of the Episcopal Church in the seventeenth century. The object of the two volumes of 'Concilia Scotiæ' was to collect the canons, provincial and synodal, of the Scottish Church, from 1225, when its clergy were empowered by the Pope to meet in legislative assembly, until 1559, when the Provincial Council which was called to arrest the Reformation separated never to meet again. The greater part of the first volume consists of what is called a 'preface,' written by the editor, but is, in reality, a most valuable and interesting history of the legislation and administration of the Scottish Church down to the Reformation. Dr. Grub who, as the author of an important and scholarly 'Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,' speaks with peculiar

authority on the matter, says of Robertson's volumes that no work of equal importance and merit has yet appeared in connection with Scottish ecclesiastical history in the thirteenth and three following centuries. As usual, Robertson broke new ground. The way had been prepared by Thomas Innes, Ruddiman, Lord Hailes, Mr. Cosmo Innes, and Dr. Grub; but, once more to rely on the authority of the last-named, Robertson's history of Scottish Councils is 'illustrated with that curious learning and rare accuracy in which he had no equal among his contemporaries.' Collections of the canons and other documents of the period had been printed before. His text of the documents he authenticated by a careful collation of all the existing manuscripts and other copies, the various readings of which he likewise presents, along with an appendix of collateral and additional documents, and a wealth of notes giving quotations from original authorities, often from recondite sources, as well as references to accessible works. Such a work could not be popular in the ordinary sense, yet it is surcharged with the most curious interest and embodies no small part of the true materials of Scottish history during those centuries.

The Preface to the '*Concilia Scotiæ*' is dated the 26th of June, 1866—the day, presumably, on which Robertson's task was finished. As the summer advanced a disease in his throat began to

prey upon him so as to induce debility. Hitherto he had enjoyed good health all through life, with seeming robustness of constitution, but the symptoms of this malady were soon found to bear a serious aspect. In accordance with medical advice he went to Callander with his family, and seemed to be deriving benefit from the change and rest, when he was suddenly almost prostrated by the death of his eldest son by an accident on the railway. As the season wore on, he returned to Edinburgh, and, though far from well, resumed his work at the Register House. But his days were numbered. He was suffering from a malignant tumour in the alimentary canal. The gravity of his condition he well knew, but he was resigned and cheerful, and bravely persevered in the work he had so much at heart. Towards the end of November he was confined to bed. During his last illness he received the consolations of religion from his revered friend the Bishop of Brechin (Dr. A. P. Forbes), who frequently visited him. The closing chapter is characteristic of his whole life; 'His faculties were bright and clear to the end. When his strength allowed he spoke of his great Record designs, and went over all their details with the same precision of memory which had marked him in his best days. He was interrupted sometimes by his kind physician, sometimes by the Bishop's visits, but after such inter-

ruptions he would recur to the subject of his Record plans, taking them up at the point where he had stopped; and at intervals, for several days, he dictated notes and memoranda of materials to be used and of persons to be employed.\*

So died in harness, on the 13th of December, 1866, at the age of 56, Joseph Robertson, survived by his wife, two sons, and two daughters. In the following year the Queen, on the recommendation of the late Earl of Derby, then Prime Minister, granted a pension of £100 to Mrs. Robertson, in consideration of her husband's 'services to literature generally, and especially in the illustration of the ancient history of Scotland.' Over Robertson's grave, in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, a suitable memorial was erected by his old friends of the Spalding Club. A testimonial had been subscribed for, when the Club was being wound-up, to Dr. John Stuart, in recognition of his services as secretary throughout its career and of his literary work for it; and at his request a portion of the funds thus collected were applied to the erection of a memorial cross to his life-long friend and co-worker.

\* *North British Review*, No. xciii., page 72.

Reference is made in the course of the Essay to the following works :—

1. *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, illustrated by Robert William Billings and William Burn.* Parts I.—XXVII. Edinburgh. 1847-9.
2. *Descriptive Notices of some of the Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland.* By T. S. M. London and Oxford. 1848.
3. *Ecclesiological Notes on the Isle of Man, Ross, Sutherland, and the Orkneys; or, a Summer Pilgrimage to Maughold and S. Magnus.* By a Member of the Ecclesiological Society. London. 1848.
4. *On the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Argyllshire.* By John Saul Howson, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cam. Published in the Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society. Parts II. and III. Cambridge. 1842-5.

## SCOTTISH ABBEYS AND CATHEDRALS.

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WHEN the loss of a horseshoe brought the 'Queensferry Diligence' to a stand, almost at its journey's end, the Laird of Monkbarns congratulated himself and his young fellow-traveller on the opportunity thus offered of examining 'a very curious and perfect specimen of a Picts' camp or round-about.' An archæologist of another nation would have remembered rather that he was in the neighbourhood of a fine Romanesque church—it would have been called Saxon in those days, and Norman five years ago—and would have found more attraction in the sculptured doorway and semicircular apse of Dalmeny, than in the misshapen ditches of an aboriginal hill-fort. But Sir Walter drew from the life. At the very time when his pen was tracing the characteristics of 'The Antiquary,' the most ponderous of Scotch antiquaries was travelling in the birth of overgrown quartos, in which the remains of the Mediæval architecture of the north were held up as things beneath the regard of intelligent men.

‘Ancient castles, religious houses, places of worship’—so Mr. George Chalmers declared—‘those modern antiquities, which are all subsequent to the twelfth century, supply to well-informed minds scarcely any amusement, and still less instruction.’\*

It would be unfair to charge this heresy, in its full enormity, on the general assembly of Scottish archæologists. But it is not to be denied that some such doctrine was long prevalent among them, and its influence seems still manifest in the bent which their studies have taken beyond the Tweed. While other branches have been cultivated with success, not only have architectural antiquities been neglected, but what little has been done for them has been accomplished chiefly by strangers. The works named at the head of our paper are all of any note that have of late years appeared on the subject; and it will be observed that, with a single exception, they are published in England; while of that exception—certainly a very signal one—we have to add, that, though the book owes much to the enterprise of its Scottish publishers, the principal (if not sole) author is an Englishman, in whom the cathedrals of Durham and Carlisle trained those faculties which are now devoted to the illustration of Kirkwall and Holyrood. Thus it is in our day; and even so it has been from the beginning.

\* *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 573. Cf. vol. ii. pp. 94, 406, 569, 844, 974.

During the Great Rebellion, James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, made a few drawings of Scottish buildings, which were transferred to copper in Holland, and have recently been engraved again by the Bannatyne and Spalding Clubs. These plates must be spoken of with gratitude ; but it was not until after the lapse of nearly half a century that an attempt was made to bring together, in one volume, a set of views of the memorable places of the north. The author of the undertaking was a German adventurer, John Abraham Schlezer, whom some chance of travel landed in Scotland a few years after the Restoration. His '*Theatrum Scotiæ*' appeared in 1693, but in an imperfect state, containing no more than 57 views. The impression was limited to 157 copies, of which, at the end of three years, more than half were unsold. We dare not say that this fate was undeserved. The work—though now possessing a certain interest for its representations of objects that have perished or are marvellously changed—is ill executed in every way. The German seems to have been conscious of this, and, in proposals for another edition, he pledged himself to 'turn out seven or eight plates, the prospects of little mean things, or else not well done at all,' and to give about a hundred new engravings. The Scottish Parliament encouraged him by a small grant, but his design never reached further than

the execution of twelve plates, and these appeared in such guise that it is matter of dispute what the places are which some of them profess to figure. The fate of Schlezer and his book served to deter any one from venturing upon the same field for nearly a hundred years. It was in 1769 that Pennant made the first of those tours which awakened public interest in the scenery and antiquities of Scotland. The first volume of his work—which, antiquated as it is, will remain, perhaps, in more than one point of view, the most respectable book of Scottish travel, until Mr. Murray shall persuade some competent person to undertake a scholarly 'Hand-Book for Scotland'—appeared at Chester in 1772, the same year in which the author set out on his second tour, the account of which was published in 1774. The effect of these works was signal. We are tempted to believe that it was Pennant's First Tour which incited Johnson to fulfil his long-cherished intention of a voyage among the West Isles. It is certain that it was immediately after the publication of the book that the Doctor made up his mind to the expedition; and that he proclaimed himself, on all occasions, a devout admirer of the Welshman:—'He's a Whig, sir; a sad dog; but he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than any one else does.' We may note, as perhaps another fruit of Pennant's volume, that the year

following its publication saw the first of those 'Etchings, chiefly of Views in Scotland,' by which the ingenious John Clerk of Eldin—for whom is claimed the invention of 'breaking the line' in sea warfare—amused his leisure, and which, even in an imperfect collection, is now among the rarest of Bannatyne books. It was confessedly the example of Pennant which produced in 1780 the 'Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland,' by Charles Cordiner, a priest in English orders. This work was followed, at the distance of fifteen years, by another of greater scope, the 'Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain,' published by Cordiner in conjunction with his engraver, Peter Mazell. In the interval, Adam de Cardonnel had given to the world his etchings of 'Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland' (1788-1793). It is to be lamented that this work was executed on a smaller scale than was at first intended: its diminutive size renders almost worthless what might otherwise have been a serviceable book. Contemporaneous with Cardonnel's etchings was the well-known Captain Grose's 'Antiquities of Scotland' (1789-91); and for this—which, with all its grievous faults was still the best work on the subject—the commonwealth of letters had to thank an Englishman.

We pass at a step over the multitude of publications which thenceforth—more especially

after Scott had begun to rekindle the decaying embers of nationality, 'colourishing old stamps which stood pale in the soul before'—showed that the callous north was at length shamed into some kind of interest in the architectural monuments of its elder time.\* We make no account of the common herd of 'Views' and 'Scenes,' 'Beauties' and 'Pictures.' Even of works which took higher flight we content ourselves with merely naming one or two, such as the 'Views in Orkney and on the North-eastern Coast of Scotland' (1807), a set of spirited etchings by the late Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, circulated only among friends; the 'Border Antiquities of England and Scotland' (1814), to which Scott contributed an admirable introduction; the 'Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland' (1825-6), which he enriched by a series of delightful essays that may be held up as models of what might be done for Scottish topography, with the greatly enlarged sources

\* If anyone should surmise that we press too hard on our friends beyond the Border, let him read an indignant note in 'Ancient and Modern Art, Historical and Critical, by George Cleghorn, Esq.,' vol. i. p. 138. Edin. 1848. The incumbent of the parish, writing in 1836, thus accounts for the recent mutilation of the tombs of the Douglasses under the very shadow of their ancestral towers, in their own church of St. Bride in Douglasdale:—'During the many years when Douglas Castle was deserted as a residence, the aisle was left open and unprotected; and the boys of the place, *with the destructive propensity characteristic of the Scots*, made it a favourite amusement to aim stones at the chisel-work' (New Statist. Acc.; Lanarkshire, p. 491). This is a melancholy commentary on the proud lines:—

'Hosts have been known at that dread name to yield,  
And Douglas dead, his name has won the field.'

now open to the antiquary ; and the picturesque etchings which Scott's early friend, Mr. Skene of Rubislaw, has published at divers times from the huge store of drawings which fill his portfolios.

But no one of these books, nor all of them taken together, can supply the materials necessary for even a superficial study of Scottish architecture. The range of the best is but limited ; and their purpose, with scarcely an exception, is rather showy and general representation than that faithful and minute illustration which is indispensable for real or scientific use. The 'Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities' of Mr. Billings is the first work which, either in point of extent or of style, has any claim to be regarded as a collection worthy of the remains yet spared to Scotland. It undertakes to give at least one view of every ancient edifice worthy of notice, while the more remarkable are to be presented in the detail of two or more engravings. So far as the publication has proceeded—and it has now been in progress for more than two years—it is worthy of all praise. The plates are large enough to admit of the distinct delineation of minute peculiarities. Mr. Billings is a masterly draftsman, well skilled in the history and characteristics of architectural style, bearing an excellent eye for perspective, and uniting scrupulous fidelity to good taste and a knowledge of effect. His engravers do him justice ;

and altogether nothing can be more satisfactory than his representations.

Had this work been completed, we should have had less diffidence in attempting to trace an outline of the annals of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. If our sketch be meagre or inaccurate, let it be remembered that the materials are scanty and indigested. Only one Scottish county has had its ecclesiology in any way explored as a whole. Though eight summers have flown since Mr. Howson read his papers 'On the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Argyll' to the Cambridge Camden Society, not only has his example failed to find a follower, but, on a late visit, we found some of the best antiquaries of Edinburgh ignorant of the existence of these essays. We are encouraged to hope that this reproach may have since been removed—partly because, during a more recent walk in the Parliament House, our ears caught some such sounds as 'curious brass,' 'large matrix,' 'fine rubbings'—partly because the painstaking author of the 'Descriptive Notices of some of the Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland' dates from the Scottish capital. His work is very acceptable, as giving a multitude of facts, the fruit of laborious personal inquiry; it would have been still more valuable had his descriptions occasionally risen beyond bare inventories—as we have heard

them called—and had he known to avail himself of what has been printed by the Scottish Clubs for the elucidation of their church antiquities.\* The latter portion of this censure applies, in some measure, to the ‘Ecclesiological Notes on Ross, Sutherland, and the Orkneys,’ though that author is a livelier and better informed writer. We do not think that *he* would have given us a chapter on Coldingham without one allusion to what Bede has written, or Raine has published, on the history of that ancient monastery. Yet even he writes about Kirkwall and her Earl Saint without apparently having seen either the ‘Orkneyinga Saga’ or the ‘Saga Magnus Eyia-Earls Ens Helga’—works which we cannot name without recording our earnest hope that every encouragement will be given in this country to the new editions promised by the antiquaries of Copenhagen in their collection of the Scandinavian sources of the early history of the British Isles. The prospectus of the ‘Anti-

\* We might extend this remark. The Scottish Chartularies, of which, under the editorial care of Mr. Cosmo Innes, about twenty volumes have now been printed, contain mines of information, the wealth and worth of which is far from being sufficiently appreciated. If Mr. Hallam, for instance had read Mr. Innes’ graceful preface to the ‘*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*’ (p. xxxvi.), he would have been able—in his instructive and candid ‘*Supplemental Notes to the View of Europe in the Middle Ages*’—to strengthen his argument for the identity of condition between the ‘*villein regardant*’ and the ‘*villein in gross*’ (pp. 383-386), by the testimony of a profound legal antiquary, that in Scotland, ‘in the old laws regarding them, and the numerous conveyances of *neyfs* or *serfs*, preserved in the chartularies of an early date, we can trace no admission or claim of right raising any class of them above the rank of absolute *serfs* or *villeins* in *gross*.’

quitates Britannicæ et Hibernicæ'—as published in the 'Guide to Northern Archæology,' edited and partly translated by the Earl of Ellesmere—is full of promise, not only for the Scottish annals, but for English church history.

We stumble, in defect of light, even on the threshold of our task. On the site of that conflict between Agricola and Galgacus which Monkbarns sought to fix on his Kaim of Kinprunes, volumes have been written; but, although the Scots pride themselves on the purity of their early faith, no attempt has been made by them to discover the fate of the first Christian church built in their land. Bede relates that the first tribes of North Britain who turned from their idols to worship the true God, owed their conversion to the British bishop, Nynias or Ninian. He had studied at Rome, and on that headland of Galloway where he chose the chief seat of his mission 'he built a church of stone, in a way unusual among the Britons.' It was dedicated by him to St. Martin of Tours, from whom he obtained masons to shape its walls after the Roman fashion. In this 'White House,' as it was named, the body of St. Ninian had its rest, with the bodies of many other saints; and for ages the place continued to be famous, not only in North Britain, but throughout the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and among the races of Ireland. Even from Gaul

were letters sent to 'the brethren of St. Ninian at Whithern,' written by the most accomplished scholar of the age—Alcuin, the divine and the philosopher, the historian and the poet—'the confidant of Charlemagne,' to use the words of M. Guizot, 'his councillor and intellectual prime minister.' In more modern times, the ancient shrine was renowned as a pilgrimage, whither kings and princes, churchmen and warriors, with people from many realms, came by sea and land to make their devotions. The reader will ask, 'Do any remains of this famous church of the fourth century exist?' Alas this is a question which the Scottish antiquaries have never thought worthy of consideration. They have forgotten Whithern as utterly as if it had been the commonest spot of earth in their country; and it is to a contemporary English writer—not in the most orthodox odour—that we owe the information that a roofless and ruined chancel, built about the end of the twelfth century, occupies 'the site of much more ancient buildings, which had been the crypt, as it would seem, of an extensive church; for there are large vaults of old and rude masonry around, which rise higher than the level of the chancel floor. These,' he continues, 'must have been part of the original church of St. Ninian, of the fourth century, or built by the Saxons in the eighth century; and it would be interesting to ascertain whether

they are not really part of a church, the building and date of which are so marked in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland,\* We are not sanguine as to the inquiry, but it ought to be made; and we shall look to Mr. Billings for drawings of every vestige of a hallowed edifice which can be supposed coeval with the foundation of the oldest bishopric north of the Humber.

The white-walled cathedral, which from that bold promontory of Galloway looked upon the shores of Cumberland and the distant peaks of Man, was not the only church in Scotland constructed on an Italian model. We may read in Bede how, about the year 710, Naiton or Nectan, King of the North Picts, sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, abbot of the venerable historian's own monastery of Jarrow, praying for 'architects to build a stone church in Pictland, after the Roman manner.' The royal request met prompt compliance; but it would be vain to search for traces of this structure—as vain as to look for the churches which the Italian Boniface and his companions are said to have built at Invergowrie, Tealing, and Restennet in Angus, at Rosemarky in Ross, and elsewhere in the northern provinces of King Nectan's dominions. Towards the

\* 'Lives of the English Saints,' no. xiii., St. Ninian, p. 147. The chancel is described as 'a well-proportioned and beautiful specimen of the Early English style.'

middle of the fifth century, St. Palladius, who was sent from Rome to the Christian Scots, visited North Britain, and died at Fordun, in 'Mag Girgin,' or the Mearns. But Ireland, as it was the chief object of his mission, so it had his 'Teach-na Roman,' or Roman house, while Scotland received his relics and his spiritual succession. There were others who came from distant lands to labour in the conversion of the Scottish tribes ; either impelled by that chivalrous spirit of devotion of which the Dark Ages show many noble examples, or carried to the shores of Albany by tempests or contrary winds, like Arculf, that bishop of Gaul, who, returning from Palestine in the latter years of the seventh century, was driven among the West Isles, to instruct the monks of Iona, and through them great part of the Christian world, in the memorable places of Jerusalem, and the architecture of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the beginning of the ninth century, St. Regulus, or Rule, and his companions, brought from Byzantium or from the coasts of Achaia what were believed to be relics of the Apostle St. Andrew. Where the Greek missionaries touched Scottish ground, at Mucros or Kilrimont in Fife, the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland afterwards arose ; but they built their first church beyond 'the Mounth'—apparently at Kindroghet in the Brae of Mar, where they first met the Pictish King, and unveiled the

treasures of their shrine, while he and all his host bowed themselves to the earth before it. A second church was raised at 'Monichi,' in Angus; a third at Forteviot, in Stratherne; while Kilrimont, in Fife, was hallowed—like the Irish Glendalough—by its seven churches, built on the wide territory which King Hungus gave to God and St. Andrew by the symbol of a turf offered up on the altar. In Ussher's time the name of 'the Greek Church,' given to a building on the banks of the Boyne in Ireland, was believed to mark the site of an early mission from the Eastern Church; but the soil of Scotland can boast of no such visible memorial coeval with St. Rule. It is equally barren in tokens of the enterprise of St. Adrian and his companions, whom Hungary—in the young ardour of the faith it had so recently embraced—sent forth to find martyrs' graves on the Scottish shore.

It were vain to ask for remains of edifices reared by native hands among either of the Celtic nations who inhabited North Britain of old. We have Bede's testimony that the Britons—who in his day, and much nearer to our own, possessed all the country to the south of Clyde and Forth, except the narrow margin of Lothian and the Merse on the one coast, and the projecting angle of Galloway on the other—were accustomed to build their churches of timber. In the sixth century, when St. Kentigern—the

founder of the see of Glasgow, the founder also of the see of St. Asaph in Wales—laid the foundations of the latter, the history bears that it was a wooden church, after the manner of the Britons, ‘quum de lapide nondum construere poterant, nec usum habebant.’ There is still more abundant testimony that such was the use also of the northern Scots both of Ireland and of Albany. When Bede describes the building of the cathedral of Lindisfarne by St. Finan, in the year 652, he tells us that ‘it was constructed not of stone, but of oaken planks, thatched with reeds, after the Scottish manner.’ This ‘mos Scottorum’ was carried by their missionaries even beyond the Alps; and in his wooden oratory at Bobbio, among the wild hills near the source of the Trebbia, St. Columbanus, early in the seventh century, reproduced in classic Italy the rude type of Irish Banchor and Scottish Iona. St. Bernard relates that, so late as the twelfth century, St. Malachy built a wooden shrine in Ulster, ‘opus Scoticum, pulchrum satis;’ and that when afterwards he began to raise a stone edifice, such as he had seen abroad, the Irish exclaimed against it as a piece of Norman extravagance, a vain and useless innovation.

The monastery which St. Columba founded in Iona, in the middle of the sixth century, is called by an old writer ‘gloriosum cœnobium.’ That it was so, in one sense, no person will ques-

tion who traces on the map how large was the region of England which its Scottish missionaries and their Saxon disciples built up in the Christian faith. But its glory was not material: the only passage in Cumin or Adamnan, from which we can infer anything as to the buildings on 'that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions,' speaks of the Apostle of the Scots as sending forth his monks to gather 'bundles of twigs to build their hospice.' The mainland abode of St. Woloc, a bishop of the same age, is described in the Breviary as a mere wattle-hut—'*pauperculam casam calamis viminibusque contextam*,'\* The greater dignity of the churches seems to have been in their construction, not of basket-work, but of squared timber: they were log-houses, not wigwams. Thus, in accordance with what Bede writes of Lindisfarne, the Breviary relates that the church of St. Maolrubha, at Urquhart, on the western bank of Loch Ness, was built of 'hewn oak;' and of the same fashion doubtless was the more famous church which he founded at Applecross, in the western wilds of Ross, in the year 673, and which a century later gave an abbot to the great house of Banchor.

Built, as the primitive churches were, of such perishable materials, it is not to be wondered at

\* '*Breviarium Aberdonense*,' prop. SS, pro temp. hiem., f. xlv.

that so many 'venerable seats of ancient sanctity' in Scotland should now offer little to the eye of the pilgrim beyond an indefinable something, in their general aspect, of sweetness or serene repose—that '*insita sibi species venustatis*' which arose to the imagination of Bede, as it contemplated the green mount sprinkled by the blood of England's first martyr. Yet around a few of the early northern shrines there still remain tangible vestiges of religious use, partaking, in some measure, of an architectural character. In the Irish Life of St. Cuthbert, printed by the Surtees Society, there is a passage describing the first work of his mission in terms which may probably be applied to the case of all the spiritual labourers of his age and nation. It tells that withdrawing from that monastery of Dull, in Athol—whose 'Comharba,' or lay-abbot, in the eleventh century, was the father of the long line of Scottish kings—he chose his dwelling on the mountain of 'Doilweme,' where first he reared a great cross of stone, then built an oratory of wood, and, lastly, shaped to himself a bath in the rock, in order that, immersed in the cold water, he might pass whole nights in prayer, after a custom which is recorded to have been the observance of St. Patrick, St. Kentigern, and Bede's Drycthelm, the penitent recluse of Saxon Melrose.

Of such crosses as St. Cuthbert raised on the

banks of the Highland Tay, remains are to be seen in every province of Scotland. They resemble the stone crosses in Ireland, except that for the most part they are less elaborate; some of them—unhewn blocks, graven with a cross, or covered with uncouth figures and symbols—showing a rudeness which suggests a higher antiquity than is probably their due. One somewhat different from the rest—the well-known pillar at Ruthwell on the Solway—has been shown by Mr. Kemble to be an Anglo-Saxon work of the age and province of Bede. Another, at Newton, in the Garioch, bears a rudely cut inscription which has hitherto resisted the interpretation of scholars, though the Welsh archæologists, we think, have deciphered things nearly as illegible. But we forbear to enter on a subject for the study of which the first foundations are only now laid by Mr. Chalmers of Auldbar, an accomplished country gentleman, who has prepared, as his contribution to the Bannatyne Club, a costly series of engravings of the ‘Sculptured Monuments of Angus,’ the richest of all the northern shires in this somewhat perplexing kind of memorial.

It is not known that any traces of the bath which St. Cuthbert hewed now exist in Strath-tay. Nor do we find that the western antiquaries have discovered St. Kentigern’s ‘bed,’ ‘bath,’ and ‘chair’ of stone at Glasgow. But those of St.

Maoliosa are yet shown in the Holy Isle, on the coast of Arran. The stone 'pillow' of St. Columba stood for ages beside his sepulchre in Iona. The 'baths' of St. Woloc may still be seen beside his ruined church in Strathdeveron; and we are told in one of the Spalding Club volumes, that it is but of late since 'multitudes of diseased children were bathed in these pools, and part of their attire left floating on the waters' as a propitiatory offering. The palmer in Marmion was bent for the 'holy pool' of St. Fillan; and the saint's chair of rock yet remains to mark the seat of the ancient monastery which he founded in the heights of Glendochart, and the Comharba of which appears in old statutes as taking rank with the Earls of Athol and Menteith. The stone chair of St. Marnan still looks down upon the church which bears his name at Aberchirder; and other instances might be found of a relic which seems to have been characteristic of Celtic hagiology. In Leland we read how in his time the stone chairs of St. Mawe and St. Germoc were preserved in the cemeteries of the churches dedicated to their honour in Cornwall; and St. Maughold's chair—'a hollow scooped out of the rock'—is still shown beside his church and well in the Isle of Man. The 'frithstool' in Beverley Minster is probably a monument of the same kind: it is said to have been brought from Scotland, and

perhaps the saints' chairs which remain there may have served the same purpose of 'seats of peace,'—the 'grithstol' of the Laws of St. David—places of refuge for those who fled to the churches for sanctuary.

The Caves which the primitive confessors of Scotland excavated or enlarged in the cliffs of her iron coast, are more to our present purpose. Such places of religious retreat were commended by the examples of St. Martin of Tours, the light of Western Christendom in the fourth age, and of St. Benedict, the patriarch of European monachism. The caverns dug by the former saint and his disciples in the rocky bank of the Loire are still shown; and the name of the Holy Grotto, at Subiaco, in the upper valley of the Anio, distinguishes the cave cut midway on the face of a precipice, in which the latter passed three years of austere solitude. Sir Walter Scott has commemorated the 'ocean-cave' of St. Rule, at St. Andrews. It is dug in the face of a rock, and is divided into two chambers: the outer, which is nearly circular in shape, measures ten feet across, and has an altar hewn on the east side; the inner, where the saint is supposed to have slept, is of a square form, measuring about eight feet on each side. Other oratories or penance-cells of the same kind are the sea-beaten cave of St. Ninian, in a tall cliff of the Galloway coast; the cave of St. Columba, on

Loch Killisport in Knapdale ; of St. Cormac, in the same neighbourhood ; of St. Kiaran, in Kintyre ; of St. Maoliosa, at Lamlash in Arran ; of St. Gernad near Spynie in Murray ; of St. Serf at Dysart ; and the den at Dunfermline, to which the use or tradition of a later age has given the name of St. Margaret. Some of these places have not long ceased to linger in the reverence of the people ; a few have altars, crosses, or inscriptions : and one or two have what seem to be ‘benaturae’ and ‘piscinae.’ Their use, as places of ascetic retirement during Lent, is sufficiently illustrated by the history of St. Kevin’s Bed at Glendalough, and by a passage in the Life of St. Kentigern, where that Apostle of Strathclyde—the season of mortification past—is seen in devotion at the mouth of his cave, gazing on the skirts of the departing storm, and rejoicing to feel once more the sweet breath of spring upon his cheek. Perhaps the famous Dwarfie Stone at Hoy, in Orkney, and the singular chamber called St. Wilfrid’s Needle, which lies deep in the foundations of Ripon Minster, are monuments of the same class. The readers of Mr. Curzon’s ‘Monasteries in the Levant’ will remember his description of ‘the numerous caves and holes, some of them natural, but most artificial,’ in the rocks of the holy vale of Metçora, in Albania. He adds that, ‘in the dark and wild ages of monastic fanaticism, whole

flocks of hermits roosted in these pigeon-holes.'

These things have taken us back to the infancy of the Celtic church in the north. Five following centuries of her life have left but two monuments of note ; and both bear the impress of the parent country of the Scots. The 'Round Towers' at Abernethy and Brechin show their Irish origin on their face, and it is in Irish manuscripts that we must look for their history. Dr. Petrie is said to have discovered the date of the more northern of the two ; and we hear that in the second volume of his 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,' he is to prove that the bell-tower of Brechin was built by Irish churchmen, about 1010, or a few years after the death of that King Kenneth MacMalcolm, of whom it is written in the Chronicle of the Picts, 'This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord.' We have not learned that the builders of Abernethy have been retrieved, but from the beginning this was peculiarly an Irish house.

It is not impossible that, although hitherto unascertained, there may exist in Scotland remains of ecclesiastical buildings in that rude but most interesting style which Dr. Petrie unexpectedly brought to light in Ireland. They should be looked for in the parts nearest to that island ; and we really find there indications of sufficient promise to encourage a closer search. The old accounts of St. Kilda describe what seems a 'bee-

hive house,' built wholly of long thin stones without cement, and famous in the traditions of the islanders. Pennant saw, near Muggastot in Skye, the remains of 'a monastery of great antiquity, built with great stones without mortar.'

The Conquest in England is nearly contemporary with the dawn of a revolution which—slow, silent, and nearly bloodless—wrought changes in Scotland more momentous and far more auspicious than flowed from the Norman triumph at Hastings. The northern kingdom was to be wholly transformed. Not new lords only, or strange laws, but a new people and another language—almost another form of religion—were to be introduced. The Celt was henceforth to serve in the land which he had ruled,—was to feel that, though a Prince of his line sat upon the 'Lia Fail' at Scone, and was hailed in Celtic speech and fashion 'King of Albany,'—the power had departed from the nation of the Gael. His birthright and heritage—even his name of Scot—were to be shared among Anglo-Saxon fugitives, Norman adventurers, and mercenary men-at-arms from Flanders and Brabant. This eventful change, almost unnoticed by contemporary chroniclers, is still imperfectly understood; and, though it is the key to the annals of civilisation in the north, its history is yet to be written. Beginning with the partition of Northumbria and the cession of Lothian to the Scots about the

middle of the tenth century, a continuous series of causes contributed, during nearly four hundred years, to the colonisation of the territory beyond the Tweed by chiefs and people from the more southern provinces. The historian, who prepares himself for this subject will have to show how the tide of migration northwards was influenced by the fall of the Welsh dominion of Strathclyde—by the civil wars in Albany which were let loose by the dagger of Macbeth—by the throes which preceded the dissolution of the Anglo-Saxon power—by the Conquest—by the terrible wrath of the Conqueror—by the dreaded fury of the Red King. But the chief place in his canvass will be filled by a benigner figure—that saintly Princess who brought to the Scottish throne the blood and rights of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and planted among the Scottish people the seeds of a more energetic faith and a superior civilisation. There is no nobler picture in the northern annals than that of St. Margaret—illustrious by birth and majestic in her beauty—as she appears in the artless pages of her chaplain Turgot. The representative of Alfred and the niece of the Confessor, she showed in womanly type the wisdom and magnanimity of the one, and more than all the meek virtues of the other. The daughter of exiles who found refuge in the court of St. Stephen, she began in Scotland the good and great work of enlightenment which that prince

accomplished in Hungary. Wedded to a rude husband—no unmeet type of his barbarian realm she subdued his wild nature until he became the gentle minister of her wishes, the partner of her never-ending works of charity and mercy—eager to share in her long vigils and frequent prayers—gazing fondly on her books which he could not read, or carrying them away by stealth that he might bring them back to their mistress with new and costly adornments.

The church of St. Columba—sadly fallen from the days when it called forth the glowing praises of Bede—lived only as a barren and sapless branch in the time of St. Margaret. Its chief temporal possessions had become the heritage of laymen. Its wealthier priests were an hereditary caste, living in ease and sloth, and transmitting their benefices to their children. The observance of the Lord's Day had ceased. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not only no longer celebrated even on the holiest day of all the year, but its disuse was justified by a perversion of Scripture, which, monstrous as it is, still obtains, we believe, among 'the Men' in some parts of the Highlands. To redress these abuses was one of the first cares of St. Margaret. Provincial councils were summoned at her command; and in one of these—'like another Helena,' says the Prior of Durham, in allusion to an incident in the life of the mother of Constantine—she dis-

puted for three days with the degenerate clergy, and out of Scripture and the Fathers convinced them of many of their errors.

St. Margaret died in 1093, having seen only the beginnings of the reformation for which she laboured. But the pious work was continued by the three Kings her sons—the meek Edgar, the fierce Alexander, the saintly David. The great aim of all these princes, as of their mother, was to assimilate the Scottish church to the English. St. Margaret had a monk of Durham for her chaplain ; the English primate Lanfranc was her chosen counsellor and spiritual father ; and it was with Benedictines from Canterbury that she peopled her foundation of Dunfermline. Treading in their mother's footsteps, Edgar and Alexander took for their ghostly adviser the great St. Anselm—Lanfranc's successor on the throne of Canterbury—preferred English priests to their bishoprics, and filled their religious houses with English monks. St. David pursued the same policy even still more strenuously ; and so nearly completed what his predecessors began, that the Kings who reigned after him found little left to 'Anglicise.\*' So 'thorough' was this ecclesiastical

\* Their whole policy is described in a single sentence of the unpublished chronicle attributed to Walter of Coventry :—'Moderniores enim Scottorum reges magis se Francos fatentur, sicut genere, ita moribus, lingua, cultu ; Scottisque ad extremam servitutem redactis, solos Francos in familiaritatem et obsequium adhibent' (*Memoriale Hist. ad ann. 1212*, printed in a note to the 'Chronicon de Lanercost,' p. 371).

revolution, that the Scottish church was not so much reformed after the southern example, as gradually overgrown by an English church transplanted to the northern hills, with its clergy, creeds, rites, and institutions.

Of the Scottish sees all, save three or four, were founded or restored by St. David ; and their cathedral constitutions were formally copied from English models. Thus the chapter of Glasgow took that of Salisbury for its guide. Dunkeld copied from the same type, venerable in its associations with the name of St. Osmund, whose 'Use of Sarum' obtained generally throughout Scotland. Elgin or Murray sent to Lincoln for its pattern, and transmitted it, with certain modifications, to Aberdeen and to Caithness. So it was also with the monasteries. Canterbury was the mother of Dunfermline ; Durham, of Coldingham. St. Oswald's at Nosthill, near Pontefract, was the parent of Scone, and, through that house, of St. Andrews and Holyrood. Melrose and Dundrennan were daughters of Rievaulx in the North Riding. Dryburgh was the offspring of Alnwick ; Paisley, of Wenlock.

As with the bishoprics and religious houses, so in a great measure also was it with the parish churches. The ecclesiastical system which obtained in Scotland before the reform of St. Margaret and her sons, was monastic, not parochial. 'St. Rule,' says an old Life of the founder of

St. Andrews, 'had the third part of all Scotland in his hand and power, and ordained and divided it into abbacies.' The clergy lived together in humble colleges scattered over the country. This was the use also of the followers of St. Columba. With the decay of religion, the lands of these monasteries passed into the hands of laymen, in whose possession we see them in the charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries\*—the indications of which explain the rubric of the Life of St. Rule, 'How it happened that there were so many abbeys in Scotland of old

\* As these vestiges of the primitive ecclesiastical arrangements of Scotland do not appear to have attracted the notice of Scottish antiquaries, we trust our readers will forgive us for occupying a few lines with a dry, repulsive note of authorities, which will enable those who take interest in the matter to follow it out for themselves. The *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*—besides notices of the great 'comharbus' of Abernethy and Brechin, of whom we have accounts elsewhere—preserves traces more or less complete of the old monasteries or hereditary lay-abbots of Monyfeith (pp. 34, 82, 190, 278, 330, 331)—of Old Montrose (pp. 4, 67)—of Arbirlot (pp. 29, 32, 47)—of Edzell, doubtless the abbey in Glenesk founded by St. Drostan (pp. 47, 49) and perhaps of Kinef (p. 47). In the *Registrum Prioratus S. Andree* we have Rossin (pp. 55, 126, 200)—*Ecclesgirg* (pp. 27, 229, 234, 138)—*Kilgouerin* (p. 334)—and *Dull* (pp. 295, 296), of which we have much elsewhere. The *Liber Insule Missarum* (that is, *Inchaffray*) gives us *Madderty* (pp. 15, 26, 71-78). In the *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* we have *Dunkeld* (pp. 6, 20, 29, 41, 47), which meets us also in many other places—and *Kirkmichael*, in *Strathardle* (p. 144). The *Liber Ecclesie S. Trinitatis de Scon* supplies *Kilspindy* (p. 53). We find *Mortlach* and *Cloveth* in the '*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*' (vol. i. pp. 6, 85). The *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis de Edwinesburg*, besides furnishing *Melginch* (pp. 38, 53, 54, 177)—and *Falkirk* (pp. 79, 83), the abbey whence St. Modan converted the Scots dwelling on the Forth—shows that, about the year 1175, even Iona itself was, wholly or in part, in the lay possession of the King of the Scots (p. 41). From other records we might add to this list *Ratho*, *Kinghorn*, *Kettins*, *Blair in Gowrie*, *Glendochart*, *Kilmun*, *Applecross*, *Lesmahago*, *Govan*, and perhaps *Selkirk* and *Dornoch*.

time, which many laymen now possess of hereditary right.' These lay possessors took the title of 'abb,' or abbot—as was the case also in Ireland and Wales, where the same abuse prevailed—but left the religious services (where such were performed at all) to be discharged by a prior and a few irregular monks. This rude order of things was gradually displaced by the parochial system, as the Anglo-Norman colonisation of the country advanced. There is a parchment in the treasury at Durham, which enables us to describe in his own words how the Northumbrian colonist settled himself on the left bank of the Tweed, in the beginning of the twelfth century :—

'To the sons of holy mother church'—thus the charter runs—'Thor the Long, greeting in the Lord : Know that Aedgar, my lord, King of the Scots, gave to me Aednaham, a waste ; that with his help and my own means I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert ; and this church, with a ploughgate of land, I have given to God and St. Cuthbert and his monks, to be possessed by them for evermore. This gift I have made for the soul of my lord the King Aedgar, and for the souls of his father and mother, and for the weal of his brothers and his sisters, and for the redemption of my dearest brother Lefwin, and for the weal of myself, both my body and my soul. And if any one by force or fraud presume to away take this my gift from the saint afore-

said and the monks his servants, may God Almighty away take from him the life of the heavenly kingdom, and may he suffer everlasting pains with the Devil and his angels: Amen.’\*

So prayed the founder of the parish of Ednam, the birthplace of the poet of the ‘Seasons.’ Long Thor may serve as the type of his very numerous class. Wheresoever the Teutonic settler—whether he were a Saxon of old blood, impatient of the Conqueror’s yoke or a Norman discontented with the portion of a younger son at home, or a Fleming, whose skill in the assault and defence of fortified places made him welcome in all countries—wherever the southern adventurer obtained a grant of land from the King of Scots, there he planted a hamlet, and built a church for the folk of his manor. There are districts where the parishes are known to this hour by the names, which they took from their first lords in the twelfth century. Thus in the Upper Ward of Clydesdale—the ‘plantation’ of which, by the help of the ‘Register of Kelso,’ is put before us almost as clearly as if it were a ‘lot’ in Australia in our own day, or a ‘precinct’ in Ulster in the reign of King James I.—we can tell that Roberton was so called from Robert the brother of Lambin (who again gave name to Lamington)—Syming-

\* Raine’s North Durham, app., p. 38, nn. clxi., clxii.

ton from Simon Lockhart (who gave name also to Symington in Kyle)—Thankerton from Tancard (who may have counted kin with him who gave name to Tancarville on the Seine). The clergy who served these new churches were either priests brought from England, or kinsmen of the Anglo-Norman founders born in Scotland. This was the case also, even still more conspicuously, in the higher ecclesiastical ranks. Thus, of fifteen prelates who were elected to the primatial see of St. Andrews during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—and who wrote themselves in charter and on seal ‘*Episcopi Scottorum*’—not one appears to have been a Celtic Scot: only a few sprung from the Anglo-Norman houses of Scotland; the great majority were Saxons and Normans from England. We see in the list a prior of Durham—a monk of Canterbury—a canon of St. Oswald’s near Pontefract—a son of the Earl of Northampton—a son of the Earl of Leicester. Even

‘in the north  
Beyond the thundering Spey,’\*

the chapter of Murray chose for their bishop an abbot of Coggeshall in Essex, in 1171, and a canon of Lincoln, in 1252.

\* Professor Aytoun’s ‘*Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*’—a volume of verse which shows that Scotland has yet a poet. Full of the true fire, it now stirs and swells like a trumpet-note—now sinks in cadences sad and wild as the wail of a Highland dirge.

What has been written will prepare the reader for the perfect sameness of ecclesiastical architecture on both sides of Tweed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or throughout the epochs of the Norman or Romanesque and the Early English or First Pointed styles. During these ages—and they beheld the northern church's height of material not less than of spiritual grandeur—cathedral and convent church and chapel, rose everywhere in Scotland, fashioned on English models, by English hands, or under English oversight.

‘The people work like congregated bees,  
Eager to build the quiet Fortresses,  
Where Piety, as they believe, obtains  
From Heaven a *general* blessing ; timely rains,  
Or needful sunshine ; prosperous enterprise,  
And peace and equity.’

St. Margaret built a church at Dunfermline, the spot where her auspicious nuptials with the King of Albany were celebrated. She chose her burial within its walls, which received also the bodies of her husband and their children ; and, as the Twin Gods fought for Rome in her great battle with the Thirty Cities—as San Jago charged with Spain against the hosts of Mexico—so it was believed by the Scots that on the eve of the dreaded day of Largs the tombs of Dunfermline gave up their dead, and there

passed forth through its northern porch, to war against the might of Norway, 'a lofty and blooming matron in royal attire,' leading in her right hand a noble knight, refulgent in arms, wearing a crown upon his head, and followed by three heroic warriors, like armed and like crowned ;' an illustrious array in which it was easy to recognise 'the Protectress of Scotland,' her consort, and her sons. The structure of the Saxon princess did not survive the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was taken down, to make way for a pile more worthy of the sepulchres of the northern monarchs—a large and stately choir of First Pointed architecture. This, in its turn, was replaced by a fabric in the style of the year 1820 ; so that of the ancient abbey church of St. Margaret there now remains nothing but the Romanesque nave, which was consecrated in 1150. Though not of great size the sombre masses of the interior are impressive. The English visitor will remark more than one point of resemblance to Durham and Lindisfarne ; and there is no violence in the conjecture that the same head may have planned, or the same hands have hewn, part of all the three. We know that when the foundations of Durham were laid, in 1093, by the confessor and biographer of St. Margaret, her husband Malcolm was present ; and when the new church received the relics of St. Cuthbert, in 1104, her son

Alexander witnessed the rites.

The little Romanesque church and square tower at St Andrews, which bear the name of St. Rule, have, so far as we know, no prototype in the south. The common herd of Scottish antiquaries assign them to the seventh or eighth century; but no one acquainted with the progress of architecture, who diligently peruses the '*Historia B. Reguli et Foundationis ecclesiæ S. Andreae*' will have much difficulty in indentifying the building with the small 'basilica' reared by Bishop Robert, an English canon regular of the order of St. Augustin, between the years 1127 and 1144. Its singular tower, more than a hundred feet in height, may perhaps have been suggested by some such structures as those at Billingham and Monk Wearmouth—Lord Lindsay sees its type in the Round Towers of Ireland—and what else is peculiar in the edifice may be explained by the slender means at the disposal of the bishop, who had not yet rescued the possessions of the see from the fangs of the laymen, and laywomen too, who had sacrilegiously usurped even the offerings of the faithful upon the altar. Such was the condition of the metropolitan see of the Scots at the date of this prelate's accession, that, though the relics of St. Andrew gathered pilgrims from far and near, yet, we are told, 'the shrine of the blessed Apostle was without a minister, nor was the

eucharist celebrated except on the rare occasions of the presence of the King or the Bishop—the Culdees mumbling their mass after their own fashion in a nook of the paltry church.’ It was the bishop who reformed these things, that sowed the seed also of mundane civilisation around his humble cathedral, by persuading Mainard, the Fleming, to leave the safe walls of Berwick, and undertake the establishment of ‘a burgh’ in St. Andrews ; an enterprise, doubtless, quite as perilous in the circumstances as the foundation of a city in the wilds of Connemara—under Sir Robert Peel’s scheme for the plantation of Connaught—would appear at this day to an alderman of Bristol.

The conventual churches of Kelso and of Jedburgh exist but in broken ruins ; but enough of both is spared to show that they were noble examples of the more advanced Romanesque. ‘ In the midst of the modern town the abbey church of Kelso ’—says the learned editor of its charters—‘ stands alone, like some antique Titan predominating over the dwarfs of a later world.’ Begun in 1128—and so far completed as to receive the tomb of the founder’s son, Earl Henry of Northumberland, in 1152,—it was a structure commensurate with the magnificence of its endowments, as the first-born of St. David’s pious zeal, and with the lofty pretensions of its mitred abbots, who long disputed precedence

with the priors of metropolitan St. Andrews, and even contended for the superiority with the parent house of Tiron in France, to which this Scottish daughter gave more than one ruler. There are traces of Romanesque work in Dryburgh, in the tower at Dunblane, in Iona, Coldingham, and Monymusk. Two nearly perfect parish churches of the Romanesque age survive at Dalmeny in Lothian and at Leuchars in Fife,—the former apparently in the twelfth century a manor of the Anglo-Norman house of Avenel; the latter a Scottish fief of one of the Magna Charta barons, Saier de Quincy Earl of Winchester. Neither building need fear comparison with the common standard of English examples. Both are late in the style: Leuchars is the richer, Dalmeny the more entire of the two. Both have semicircular apses—a feature found also in the parish churches of St. Kentigern at Borthwick and St. Andrew at Gulane, and in the chapel bearing the name of St. Margaret within the walls of Edinburgh Castle.

But of all the Romanesque buildings in Scotland the most memorable by far is the majestic High Church of those distant northern isles, which, until an age comparatively recent, were no portion of the Scottish church or state, but owed ecclesiastical obedience to the metropolitan of Drontheim and civil fealty to the King of Norway. The 'storm-swept Orcades' had been

converted to the faith, about the end of the tenth century, by the renowned warrior-saint King Olaf Trygvason, who had himself received baptism in the Cornish isles of Scilly. The Orkneys probably still remembered that it was from England that the light had dawned upon their darkness, when, in the beginning of the twelfth century, we see one of their earls taking spiritual counsel of St. Anselm, and receiving an earnest admonition to obey the bishop who was then labouring among his people. The chief who thus addressed himself to the throne of Canterbury, was that Earl Hacon who, within a few years was fated to stain his hands in a murder which gave the islands their patron saint and their stately cathedral church. The dominion of the Orkney archipelago was at that time divided between two cousins. Hacon Paulson was fierce and ambitious : Magnus Erlendson had a gentle nature in a warrior's form. Both had been men of rapine and blood in their youth ; but while the restless Hacon, following the wild fortunes of King Magnus Barefoot, continued to live in war and tumult, some serener star conducted the son of Erlend to the court of St. Margaret of Scotland. He afterwards passed a twelvemonth in England with King Henry Beauclerc, and sojourned for a time in the palace of a Welsh bishop. A great and sudden change had been wrought in him, and in no long time it found a

characteristic display. He was compelled by the Norse king to embark in a fleet equipped for havoc on the coast of Wales; but when the galleys prepared for battle, Magnus refused to take arms. 'Here is no man who has done me wrong,' he said; and so repairing to his accustomed seat in the prow, he remained there devoutly reciting the Psalter, in front of the raging fight. Well might the mild rule of such a just lord endear him to his people; but the universal love in which he was held only served to hurry the son of Paul to the accomplishment of the design which he had formed to put his kinsman to death, and so possess himself of all the islands. Little art was needed to betray the guileless Magnus into his power. Hacon, at the last moment, would have been content to suffer his mutilated rival to drag out the remains of life in chains and blindness; but his savage followers swore that now one or other of the Earls must die. Magnus had prepared himself for his fate with Christian humility, by vigil and fervent prayer, by contrite tears, and by devout reception of the eucharist. Yet some feeling of the warrior's pride appears to have survived to mingle with his latest thoughts. 'Stand before me'—he said to his executioner—'and strike with your might, that your sword may cleave my brain: it were unseemly that an Earl should be beheaded like a thief.' So died the son of

Erlend, in the year 1110. The fame of his sanctity, attested by miracles wrought at his tomb—some of them, it is to be confessed, not much distinguished by their moral tendency—spread through the north with wonderful rapidity. Pilgrimages were made to his shrine at Birsa, vows paid in his honour, prayers offered for his intercession, from all parts of the northern archipelago, from Scotland, from Sweden, from Denmark, from Norway. It is even affirmed by the Bollandists that he obtained reverence in Bohemia and on the Lower Rhine; but we suspect that in these, and perhaps in some other instances, he has been confounded with another ‘St. Magnus the Martyr,’ to whom—as may be read in William of Malmesbury, Roger of Wendover, and John of Fordun—churches were dedicated in Saxony in the tenth century. It is however certain that the life of the saintly Earl of the Orkneys was woven into a Saga in the Icelandic speech in the year 1130; and, some six or eight years afterwards the cathedral at Kirkwall was founded by his sister’s child, Earl Rognvald,—in fulfilment of a vow, it is said, that should he recover his uncle’s earldom from the son of Hacon, he would rear such a church in honour of the saint as had never been seen in the north before. The building was so liberally sped by the oblations of a devout age, that all Christendom was popularly said to have

paid tribute for its erection. But the spirit of religion must then have been fervid in the islands themselves: an Orkney convent, of which all other memory seems to be lost, gave an abbot to the great Cistercian house of Melrose in the year 1175; and the Earl who laid the foundations of Kirkwall died in the odour of sanctity after a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem. He had began his High Church on no mean scale; and it was afterwards greatly enlarged in length. To this circumstance, together with its severe simplicity, its narrowness, its height, and the multiplicity of its parts, must be ascribed the most striking characteristic of the pile—its apparent vastness. Mr. Neale doubts if either York or Lincoln gave him the idea of greater internal length. Yet Kirkwall measures less by half than the least of these minsters; and indeed, generally the largest churches in Scotland are to be compared only with the smallest English.\* But we linger too long with Earl

\* We give the length of the chief Scottish cathedrals, and of one or two of less size, as we find the measures stated in the Scottish books:—

St Andrews . . . .	358 feet.	Aberdeen . . . .	about 200 feet.
Glasgow . . . . .	283 „	Fortrose . . . .	about 120 „
Elgin . . . . .	282 „	Iona . . . . .	115 „
Kirkwall . . . . .	218 „	Lismore . . . . .	56 „

Let these figures be compared with the dimensions of the great English minsters:—

Winchester . . . .	545 feet.	Lincoln . . . . .	482 feet.
Ely . . . . .	535 „	Peterborough . . .	476 „
York . . . . .	524 „	Salisbury . . . . .	474 „
Canterbury . . . .	513 „	Durham . . . . .	461 „
St. Paul's . . . . .	510 „		

Magnus and his temple. Our readers will learn with pleasure that a cathedral so remarkable in all its circumstances—and to which the romance of the *The Pirate* has given a new renown—is about to be illustrated in a way worthy of the subject by a Northamptonshire baronet of classic name and lineage, who passed a whole summer in the study of the venerable fabric. Until the expected volume of Sir Henry Dryden shall appear, curiosity may appease itself in the excellent engravings of Mr. Billings, and the descriptive prose of Mr. Neale.

The Romanesque had the same duration in Scotland as in England, except that in the north perhaps only one edifice—the church built by St. Margaret at Dunfermline—arose before the year 1100. But the date was the same at which in both countries the style began to show that change of character which issued in the First Pointed. The transition appears in the choir of the cathedral of St. Andrews, which was founded in 1162. It is more clearly developed in the older portions of the abbey church of Holyrood, which can scarcely be later than 1174, when the occupation of Edinburgh Castle by an English garrison seems finally to have driven the canons

Of the Scottish conventual churches, few are so perfect as to be capable of measurement. The length of Dunfermline is given at 275—of Arbroath, 271—of Jedburgh, 215 feet. We trust that Mr. Billings' design contemplates ground-plans and measurements of the principal buildings figured in his collection.

from the iron fortress where they had been sheltered for half a century, together with that 'Black Rood of Scotland,' from which they took their name,\*—a mysterious relic which, brought to Scotland by St. Margaret, was kissed by her dying lips and grasped by her dying hands, was bequeathed to her children as a treasure above all price, stood before the deathbed of St. David, and was regarded by all the nation of the Scots with deep feelings of love and awe. A few faint traces of Romanesque linger in the conventual church of Arbroath, founded in 1178; but the cathedral crypt of Glasgow, begun in 1181 and consecrated in 1197, is wholly First Pointed.

The First Pointed, extending from about 1180 to about 1286, was the great age of church building beyond the Tweed. We owe to it altogether, or in part—beside the enlargement and all but completion of Kirkwall—the cathedrals of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, Elgin, Brechin, Dunblane, and Dornoch. Beside parts of Dunfermline and Jedburgh, we owe to this style also, chiefly or in a considerable measure,

\* The better sort of Scottish antiquaries have discarded the story (for which there is no old authority) of the miracle which placed 'the Holy Rood' in the hands of St. David, while wrestling with a stag at bay on the spot where the Abbey now stands. But they seem not to have recognized the real origin of the name of the Palace of their Kings, though it was pointed out by the learned Papebroch a hundred and fifty years ago. The Black Rood of Scotland was carried to England by King Edward I., along with another famous ensign of northern sovereignty, the Lia Fail, or fated stone of Scone.—(Hist. Eliensis, in *Anglia Sacra*, t. i. p. 648; *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 261.)

the conventual churches of Holyrood, Arbroath, Dryburgh, Paisley, Dundrennan, Manuel, Kilwinning, Restennet, Corsraguel, Coldingham, Lindores, New Ferne, Pluscardine, Cambuskenneth, Deir, the Maison Dieu of Brechin, Sadael, Ardchattan, and Oronsay. There remain very few parish churches in the First Pointed Style; but the doubt raised in the 'Descriptive Notices,' by T. S. M., whether 'any of the smaller churches of Scotland were erected during this period,' is utterly groundless. On one leaf of the Register of St. Andrews we have a list of no fewer than nine parish churches consecrated, in one diocese, by one bishop, between May 1242, and August 1243. There is a First Pointed chapel beside the castle of the ancient lords of Lorn at Dunstaffnage, and another at the once famous sanctuary of Tain in Ross. †

Of the conventual churches of this age the grandest undoubtedly was that which the fears or the devotion of the King of Scots reared on the shore of Angus, in honour of St. Thomas à Becket. It was founded in 1178—within seven years of the martyrdom of the heroic Primate—was so far built in 1214 as to receive the tomb of its royal founder, and was consecrated in presence of his son in 1233. It now exists only in ghastly fragments, which seen from sea have an imposing look, but viewed closely serve for little more than to denote the style and great size of

the fabric. Of Holyrood only the nave survives, and that not without some additions of a later age. Although riven and roofless, it is still interesting from the mere beauty and peculiarities of its architecture, apart from all its solemn associations of a fated line of Kings, and a national life which is no more. Dryburgh had felt the frequent scathe of English war before that day of desolation came which silenced for evermore the sweet chant of orison and litany within its walls. These have been so often ruined, rebuilt, and ruined again, and the ivy—a rare thing in Scottish ruins—has so overgrown them, that it is not easy to judge of the architectural character of all the parts. But the lines of the thirteenth century are written on those fine arches of the Lady-aisle, or north<sup>s</sup> transept, beneath which sleep the earthly remains of Scott, surrounded by the dust of many a White canon and many a Border knight, ‘amid the ashes of his own rough clan, in the heart of the scenes he sung, and of the valley he loved so well.’\* Only a small portion is left of the church of the Benedictines of Coldingham—the *Urbs Coludi* of Bede—and part of that is Romanesque. Some traces of this earlier order seem to run even through the First Pointed portions, of which Mr. Raine assures us that ‘the ornamental parts will bear a rigid comparison with the most highly finished

\* *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, pref., p. xxxvii.

buildings of that most striking style.' We can still discern in all their extent the foundations of the church of the Clugniac monastery which the progenitor of the Stuarts endowed so munificently, in the midst of his great fief of Strathgryfe, 'for the souls of King Henry of England, of King David, and of King Malcolm,'—terms which show us that though Walter Fitz-Alan had become the Seneschal of Scotland, he had not forgotten his duty to the English king. But though we can trace the form of choir and transepts at Paisley, there is little to engage attention beyond the nave, and the interest of that is in the peculiarities of its triforium and huge corbels—neither of which are pleasing features. There are other things, however, to requite the study of professed ecclesiologists; and a member of the Maitland Club might find an easy contribution in a set of engravings of the sculptured panels which run along the eastern wall of the mortuary chapel—called St. Mirine's aisle—at the end of the south transept.

The metropolitan cathedral of St. Andrews was founded in the year 1162—the King of Scots being present—by Bishop Ernold, who had been abbot of Kelso, and must have been taught by that princely pile to look with disdain on the little chapel of St. Rule built by his predecessor Bishop Robert. The new work seems to have advanced apace during the period of Bishop

Richard (1163-1178). We see him issuing letters to the aldermen and burgesses of the lately erected burgh, forbidding them to seduce or withdraw any of the builders, hewers, quarriers, or other labourers, without licence from the canon having charge of the fabric. These workmen were to have the same privileges of market for food and raiment as were enjoyed by the burgesses. A fiercely disputed election followed the death of Bishop Richard, and the church probably made no great progress until the year 1202, when William Malvoisin was translated from the see of St. Kentigern to be 'Bishop of the Scots.' The pontificate of this energetic Norman extended to nearly forty years, and his charters, yet extant, attest how earnestly he laboured to carry on 'the work of the new church of St. Andrew to its consummation.' He was the first prelate buried within its walls. We continue to hear of the building under Bishop David in 1249, and under Bishop Gameline in 1266 and 1269. Two years after the last of these dates we discover that the choir, the transepts, and two or three bays of the nave were built. The episcopate of William Wischart (1271-1279) saw the completion of the nave—which is said to have been of eleven bays—and the building of the west front. But times of trouble were now at hand. Some accident, we know not what, ruined part of the building, and before it could

be repaired the canons were in the toils of the usurers. The desolating wars of the Succession followed; and it was not until the year 1318 that the cathedral was consecrated by Bishop William Lamberton, in presence of the King, seven bishops, fifteen abbots, and almost all the earls and lords whom the wreck of war and revolution had spared to Scotland. The gift of a hundred marks yearly attested the gratitude and devotion of Bruce 'for the mighty victory vouchsafed to the Scots at Bannockburn by St. Andrew, the guardian of their realm.' Of the High Church which was thus solemnly dedicated, there now remain only portions of two gables and a side wall.

'It has been observed,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'as a circumstance full of meaning, that no man knows the names of the architects of our cathedrals. They left no record of themselves upon the fabrics, as if they would have nothing there that could suggest any other idea than the glory of that God to whom the edifices were devoted for perpetual and solemn worship; nothing to mingle a meaner association with the profound sense of His presence; or as if, in the joy of having built Him a house, there was no want left unfulfilled, no room for the question whether it is good for a man to live in posthumous renown.' The remark, though in spirit not less true than beautiful, would be liable to obvious

exceptions if interpreted altogether literally. The Breviary of the Scottish church appointed a lesson to be read to the people commemorating the architectural skill of the builder of one of her minsters; and the temple which he raised in the remote north was called by his name from within a century of his death. The fierce Norsemen of the diocese of Caithness had torn out the tongue and eyes of one bishop, and scourged, stoned, and burned another to death, when, in 1223, Gilbert de Moravia, archdeacon of Murray, was chosen to the see. To give significance to the election, it was made in presence of the King of Scots and the captains of his host; and the priest on whom the choice fell was a kinsman of the great chiefs who had then recently acquired that vast territory—‘the Southern Land’ of Caithness—which now gives the title of Duke to their lineal descendant. With such support from the arm of flesh, Bishop Gilbert ruled his church in peace for more than twenty years. He had built or repaired many royal castles throughout the northern provinces; and he now employed his skill in rearing a cathedral church at Dornoch, as he himself tells us, at his own charge. ‘He built it with his own hands,’ adds the Breviary; and we are assured that even the glass for its windows was made upon the spot, under his own eye. The constitution which he framed for the government of the chapter has lately been printed

for the Bannatyne Club, from the original parchment at Dunrobin : we learn from it that, in the cathedral which he left endowed for five dignitaries and three prebendaries, he found at his accession no more than one priest. The good bishop was canonised within no long period of his death. The church which he built survived to our time, though much decayed and partly ruined. It was 'restored' about twelve years ago, but the work unhappily was not intrusted to competent hands.

What St. Gilbert of Murray did for Dornoch was accomplishing at the same time for Dunblane by a Preaching Friar of foreign birth, who is said to have received the tonsure from St. Dominic himself. The bishopric of Stratherne was restored by St. David, after a vacancy of more than a hundred years, during which almost all its revenues had been usurped by laymen. A Romanesque tower, which still remains, would seem to have been built about that time ; but such was the forlorn condition of the see at the accession of Friar Clement in 1233, that—we give his own words—'its rents were barely sufficient to maintain him for six months ; there was no place in the cathedral where he could lay his head ; no chapter ; only a rustic chaplain saying mass thrice a week in a roofless church.' Such was Dunblane when this learned and eloquent Dominican came to its rule : the chronicles tell

us that he left it, after a pontificate of fifteen years, 'a stately sanctuary, rich in land and heritage, served by prebendary and canon.' It is now more than two centuries since the ruins of the nave which Bishop Clement built, moved the indignation of Laud. The modern choir, which has but one aisle, was all the cathedral of Leighton who marked his affection for the Scottish episcopate by leaving his learned library to his little diocese, as he endowed an almshouse and founded college exhibitions in the great metropolitan see to which he was afterwards called.

The grandest of all the northern minsters was unquestionably Elgin. It alone, among the Scottish cathedrals of the thirteenth century, had two western towers. They are now shorn of their just height, but still they may be seen from far, lifting their bulk above the pleasant plain of Murray, and suggesting what the pile must have been when the amiable and learned Florence Wilson loved to look upon its magnificence as he mediated his 'De Animi Tranquillitate' on the banks of the Lossie, and when the great central spire soared to twice the altitude of the loftiest pinnacle of ruin that now grieves the eye. The foundations of this noble church were laid about the year 1224 by Bishop Andrew de Moravia, the near kinsman, probably the nephew, of that St. Gilbert who on the opposite shore of the firth was at that very time raising the

humble walls of Dornoch. We know little of the building of Elgin. The records of the see show us 'Master Gregory the mason and Richard the glazier' at work in the autumn of 1237. Some chance reduced part of the fabric to ruin in 1244. We have it described in the end of the next century as 'the pride of the land, the glory of the realm, the delight of wayfarers and strangers, a praise and boast among foreign nations, lofty in its towers without, splendid in its appointments within, its countless jewels and rich vestments, and the multitude of its priests :—it had seven dignitaries, fifteen canons, two-and-twenty vicars-choral, and about as many chaplains—'serving God in righteousness.' These sentences are taken from a letter in which the Bishop of Murray makes his lamentation to King Robert III., complaining that on the feast of St. Botolph, 1390, the King's own brother, the Earl of Buchan, had descended from the hills with a band of wild Scots, and given the sumptuous cathedral to the flames, together with the parish church, the Maison Dieu, eighteen manse of the canons, and the whole city of Elgin. The prince of the blood who was the author of this savage exploit was popularly known as 'The Wolf of Badenoch ;' and it would be no very unfair measure of the difference between the social conditions of Scotland and of England in that age, to take the ferocities of the hoary in-

cendiary of Elgin, for a type of the one, and the Gadshill robberies or Eastcheap gambols of young Harry Monmouth for a symbol of the other. The Stuart prince made his peace with the church before he died, and he sleeps in the cathedral of Dunkeld beneath a tomb which describes him as 'an earl and lord of happy memory.' His effigy was broken and defaced after the Revolution of 1688 by a garrison of Westland Whigs or Cameronians, who it may be supposed, would have spared this sepulchre had they known that its tenant in his time had set such a brave example of 'rabbling prelatial curates' and destroying 'monuments of idolatry.' Much of what now remains of Elgin shows itself to have been rebuilt or altered after the dire calamity of St. Botolph's Day. The beautiful eight-sided chapter-house seems about a century later. The work of restoration doubtless occupied many years, though it was promoted by royal grants, though a third part of the whole revenues of the see were devoted to it for a time, and though yearly subsidies were levied on every benefice in a diocese which stretched from the Ness to the Deveron, from the sea to the passes of Lochaber and the central mountains that divide Badenoch and Athol.

We have reserved the last place in our hasty glance at First Pointed edifices to the High Church of Glasgow. Greatly favoured of fortune,

this fine pile shares the distinction of being one of the two or three Scottish cathedrals—Kirkwall is another and perhaps Lismore is a third—which have been spared to modern days in a comparatively entire state. It is fortunate also in that we know more of its story than of the annals of any other northern temple. The ground on which it stands—so ran traditions, which were of reverent antiquity even in the twelfth age—was hallowed for Christian burial by St. Ninian of Galloway in the beginning of the fifth century. But the faith planted by that first apostle of Scotland had suffered decay, the tribes whom he had converted were relapsing into paganism, and his cemetery at Glasgow was neglected or forsaken, when, beneath the shade of its venerable trees, a little church and humble monastery of wood arose about the middle of the sixth age. From this, as from the chief seat of his mission, St. Kentigern—the Mungo of the Scottish commonalty, the Kendejern Garthwys of Wales—spread or restored Christianity throughout the whole extent of the British kingdom of Cumbria, from Lochlomond and near Stirling to Windermere and beyond Appleby. Glasgow became the ecclesiastical capital of this extensive region, the spiritual mother of all the Welsh tribes ‘of Reged wide and fair Strathclyde.’ It was here that St. Kentigern made his own sepulture, and here that for ages the kings

and warriors, the saints and sages of Cumbria chose their rest beside the ashes of the renowned apostle of their nation. That nation passed away : its wasted territory was shared by sundry tribes and strange races, and in the tenth century its dominion was given to the heir of the King of Albany, on conditions of serving the Anglo-Saxon sovereign in war by sea and land. Amid these convulsions, the faith itself scarcely survived : the sec of St. Kentigern fell, and laymen seized its possessions. Its restoration, in the early years of the twelfth century, was the work of the sainted son of St. Margaret. As next in succession to the Scottish crown, St. David was Earl or Prince of Cumbria, during the reign of his brother King Alexander the Fierce ; and in the year 1115 he procured the consecration of his preceptor John to the bishopric of his semi-barbarous principedom. The new prelate, after a short sojourn, fled in terror from the wild tribes over whom he was appointed, and took the staff of pilgrimage for the Holy Land ; but the injunction of Pope Calixtus and the persuasion of St. David overcame his fears, and he returned to preach repentance and tidings of salvation throughout all the Cumbrian dales.

The ancient cemetery, with its tall cross of stone and its girdle of old trees, seems to have been nearly all of St. Kentigern—his relics excepted—that remained at Glasgow when Bishop

John laid the foundations of a new cathedral. It was begun before the year 1124, and he consecrated it in the year 1136, in presence of his royal pupil, who was now King of the Scots. At the end of about forty years this structure was laid waste by fire. Meanwhile the see had waxed rich in possessions. A burgh had been established beneath the shadow of the church. We have charters which show us the very process of its foundation: here a burgess from Haddington is building a house, there the monks of Melrose take a grant of land, here a toft and a net's fishing in Clyde are assigned to the Knights of the Temple—a weekly market is appointed for Thursday—the Bishop obtains 'the King's peace' for the burgesses and his protection for their chattels—

'Urbem designat aratro,  
Indicitque forum, et patribus dat jura vocatis.'

The prelate who thus founded what is now the second or third city of the empire, had been called to the throne of St. Kentigern from the rule of the great Cistercian monastery of Melrose. Bishop Joceline made large preparation for his new cathedral. The fashion after which he proceeded was not very different from that which is still in approved use in like cases. He published a book, and set an association on foot. The book was a new 'Life and Miracles of St. Ken-

tigern,' and its preparation was intrusted to one of the most popular biographers of the day, Brother Joceline, of Furness in Lancashire. The work is still extant, and while it possesses other claims to interest, the skill with which it addresses itself to the immediate object of its composition challenges praise. Nothing is omitted which could excite the faithful to be generous ; nothing which could magnify the dignity of the see of Glasgow. Its jurisdiction had been recently curtailed by the erection of its English territory into the diocese of Carlisle : therefore every vestige of St. Kentigern's old renown in the south—the church which shadows Southey's tomb still bears his name, and it was early interpolated into Asser's 'Life of Alfred' to prove the antiquity of Oxford—is diligently collected. The Bishops of Glasgow had been summoned to yield obedience to the Archbishop of York as their metropolitan ; therefore Brother Joceline relates how it came to pass that the successors of St. Kentigern were subject to no primate, but were vicars of the Apostolic see itself, and took precedence and had power above even Kings, so long as Cumbria was yet a kingdom.

The book of the Cistercian of Furness must have served as an ample brief to the members of the Cathedral Building Society, which was now instituted by the bishop. It had its 'collectors'

in every corner of the realm ; and we, who have so lately seen the proceedings of the 'Dombau Verein' of Cologne, may with little difficulty picture the course of the 'Brotherhood of St. Kentigern of Glasgow.' The King of Scots took it under his especial patronage by a charter of protection and privilege, full of affection for the ancient see, 'which, though poor and lowly in temporal estate, is the spiritual mother of many nations.' The allusion is to the divers tongues and kindreds which then peopled Cumbria, and which, in other charters, are recounted by name — 'Normans and Saxons, Scots, Galwegians, and Welsh.'

Bishop Joceline laid the foundation of his High Church in 1181. He began at the east, and the work advanced so rapidly that the crypt was consecrated in 1197, on the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul. Three bishops took part in the rite, and its anniversary was commemorated by the institution of a 'dedication feast,' with a great fair of eight days' duration, which is still a high holiday with the unsuspecting youths and damsels of the Covenanted West, and of old gathered yearly around the cathedral, for business or devotion, craftsmen from Selkirk, guild-burghers from Dunbarton, Solway fishers, shepherds from the Forest, Nithsdale yeomen, squires of Carrick, Clydesdale knights, the lordly abbots of Jedburgh and Corsraguel, Highland chiefs from the

Lennox, Border moss-troopers from the Liddel and the Esk. The evanescent throng has long passed away—even the religious purpose of its first institution is forgotten as if it had never been ; but Bishop Joceline's magnificent crypt still remains, the admiration of all eyes,

'Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis.'

It has perhaps no rival, certainly no superior in the island ; and they who of late years—since it was cleared of modern deformities—have wandered in the gloom of its central maze of pier and pillar, or have lingered in the twilight of its noble arcades on either side, will confess that the Chroniclers of Melrose gave the old abbot of their house no undue praise when they wrote, 'Jocelinus episcopus sedem episcopalem dilatavit et Sancti Kentegerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit.'

The founder of Glasgow died in the second year after the dedication, so that he can have built little or nothing beyond the undercroft. Indeed, we hear nothing of the progress of the structure for a long time. In 1231 the chapter was deep in debt ; but William of Bondington, a prelate of energy, having been appointed to the see two years afterwards, fourteen hundred marks due to merchants of Florence were discharged in 1240. It was about the same time that Forveleth, the widowed Countess of the Lennox, gave to the fabric a piece of land on

the banks of that stream of Leven of which Smollet has sung so sweetly. The bishop had not failed to have recourse to the great instrument of church-building in the thirteenth age—the no less effective cause of church-destruction in the sixteenth—‘papal indulgences,’ or dispensations by the Pope granting release from the heavy burdens of ecclesiastical discipline to all penitents promoting the undertaking. To add new force to this remission, a canon was passed by a Provincial Council of the Scottish clergy held at Perth in 1242, ordaining that the indulgence for the cathedral of Glasgow be hung up in every church in the realm : that its terms be plainly expounded in the vulgar tongue to the parishioners ; that on every Lord’s-day and festival from Ash-Wednesday to Low Sunday, after the Gospel is read, the duty of contributing to the work be enjoined on the people ; that their alms and legacies, together with the goods of persons dying intestate, be faithfully collected ; and during the season so specified, for no other object than this shall offerings be solicited in the parish churches. To the fruits of this ordinance, doubtless, we owe the completion of the beautiful choir before 1258.

The next twenty years would appear to have seen the building of the central tower—which was to be surmounted by a wooden spire—and of the transepts, which are so very short as

scarcely to break the long perspective of the exterior. In 1277 the chapter purchased from Maurice, lord of Luss, the privilege of cutting all the timber needed 'for the fabric of their steeple and treasury.' It was covenanted that the 'proctors of the work,' their carriers and artificers, should have free entry to Maurice's lands—which lay along the western shore of Lochlomond—should have right of felling, hewing, and dressing timber wherever they chose, should lead or carry it in whatever way they thought best, and should have pasturage for their horses and oxen. But from some cause or other the forests of Luss seem to have been found insufficient for the undertaking; and in 1291 Bishop Robert Wischart begged 'timber for the spire of his cathedral' from Edward I., then in the rule of Scotland as its Overlord. The English king was no niggard in grants 'for the honour of God and Holy Church:' he bestowed forty oaks from Darnaway on the High Church of Caithness; and he gave the Bishop of Glasgow not only sixty oaks from Ettrick, but twenty stags for his own table. But the spire of St. Kentigern was not yet to be built: the faithless prelate had scarcely digested the last of King Edward's venison, before he turned the oaks into catapults and mangonels, and with them laid seige to the garrison which kept the Cumyn's castle of Kirkintilloch.

When or how the steeple was at length completed, we do not learn. We know only that it was consumed by lightning about 1400. The building of the present spire, which is of stone, was begun by Bishop William of Lauder (1408-1425) and finished by Bishop John Cameron (1425-1447). During their times likewise were built the crypt of the chapter-house and the chapter-house itself—a plain quadrangular structure at the north-east corner of the Lady Chapel. The nave probably had been in progress from the beginning of the fourteenth century, during which bequests were made to the fabric by that ‘flower of Scottish chivalry’ the Knight of Liddesdale, and others: It appears to have been finished, with both its aisles and a deformed western tower (which has recently been taken down), before the year 1480. Archbishop Blacader (1484-1508) having built the rood-loft and the stairs which descend to the great crypt, resolved on the extension of the southern transept, but accomplished nothing more than its undercroft—a very beautiful work, of which Mr. Billings ought to give us an engraving. This fine chapel was the last thing attempted—if we except the vile ‘consistory-house’ happily now removed—before the Reformation overtook the canons, and stamped fulfilment on the adage which had prophesied of their High Church as a Penelope’s web, the type of an endless task—

‘Like Saint Mungo’s Work, it will never be finished.’

The minster of which we have thus tried to sketch the history is undoubtedly a noble work of architecture, though we may smile when we hear it spoken of as second only to Salisbury among First Pointed cathedrals. It is yet more memorable in its traditions. Ancient story, as we have seen, associates its site with the first preaching of the faith in Scotland. Here the cross was planted, and here was ground blessed for Christian burial by a Christian bishop, while Iona was yet an unknown island among the western waves, while the promontory of St. Andrews was the haunt of the wild boar and the sea-mew, and only the smoke of a few heathen wigwams ascended from the rock of Edinburgh. The ground which St. Ninian hallowed, and St. Kintigern chose for the seat of his religion, was honoured also by the footsteps of St. Columba, who came hither in pilgrimage from his island monastery, singing hymns in honour of the Apostle of Strathclyde. With these vestiges of the holy men of old we may mingle the associations of ancient romance which attach to the spiritual capital and royal tombs of the kingdom of Arthur and Merlin, of Aneurin and Taliesin. The edifice which we now behold has seen the English Edward prostrate before its high altar, and heard his vows at the gloomy shrine of St. Kentigern.

It witnessed the absolution of Bruce, while the Red Cumyn's blood was scarcely yet dry upon his dagger. Its walls rang with exhortations that it was better in the eye of heaven to fight for that outlawed homicide, than to do battle for the cross in the Holy Land. In its vestry were the Bruce's coronation robes made ready in haste: from its treasury was 'the Banner of Scotland' taken, which waved above the ruined 'Kaiser-stuhl' at Scone, when, with maimed rites and a scanty train, heralds proclaimed him 'Robert, King of the Scots.' In a more peaceful age its chapter-house and crypt sheltered the infant convocations of the University, in which Smith was to teach doctrines that have changed the policy of nations, and Watt was to perfect discoveries that have subdued the elements to be the ministers of mankind. It has seen a King serving at its altars; for as the Emperor was a canon of Cologne, and the French monarch a prebendary of Tours, so a Scottish sovereign—the devout and chivalrous King James of Flodden—had a stall in the choir and a seat in the chapter of Glasgow. Beneath the shadow of its rood-loft, unrestrained by the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, the Primates of Scotland—following the example of Canterbury and York in an earlier age—have brawled and struggled for precedency, amid the cries of their attendants, the rending of cope and surplice, and

the crash of shivered croziers. John Knox described and may have witnessed the tumult ; but his triumph would have been checked could he have foreseen that before his own discipline was twenty years old the same walls were to witness a riot not less unseemly among his own followers—were to hear the clash of steel, to see the ‘moderator of the presbytery’ plucked by the beard from his seat of office—the preacher pulled by the sleeve in the pulpit with a ‘Come down, sirrah!’—while without bells were rung, drums beat, and blood flowed in the streets. Buchanan—so long Scotland’s greatest name in letters—trod the aisles of Glasgow in his youth, and sat a delighted guest at the classic table of its archbishop. That castle hall was forsaken, the desolate cathedral was hastening to decay, when Buchanan’s pupil, Andrew Melville, is said to have clamoured for the instant destruction of the pile as ‘a monument of idolatry’ whither superstitious people ‘resorted to do their devotion,’ and which by reason of its ‘huge vastness’ was all unsuited for the stern simplicity of orthodox rites. But the time of the old minster was not yet come : the edifice which Melville wished to destroy was reserved to be the theatre of the proudest triumph which Melville’s disciples ever achieved. Large as are the dimensions of the High Church of Strathclyde, they were much too narrow for the eager multitudes who swarmed

around its gates in December, 1638, while within Covenanted ministers, and nobles gorged with church spoil, were defying their King and excommunicating their Bishops. It was, perhaps, the greatest confluence of people, says Burnet, 'that ever met in these parts of Europe, yet a sad sight to see, for not a gown was among them all, but many had swords and daggers.' Baillie, the Covenanted principal of the neighbouring College, gives even a fiercer picture of this memorable council. 'We might learn modesty and manners from the Turks or pagans'—he breaks out—'our rascals, without shame, in great numbers make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they used the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content till they were thrust down stairs.' Such was the characteristic disorder amid which the 'Jericho of prelacy' was cast down, and 'the curse of Heil the Bethelite' thundered against all who should attempt its rebuilding. But the exultation of that day was not to prove lasting. A brief course of fifteen years saw the assembly of the Covenanted Kirk invaded by theocratic enthusiasts yet wilder than themselves—saw the members marched in silence to the foot of the gallows-tree, and there dismissed with an ominous warning of the destiny which awaited them should they seek to meet again. Before that scene was acted on the Burgh

Moor of Edinburgh, Cromwell had sat in the High Church of Glasgow, listening for three hours to the impotent railing of Mr. Zachray Boyd, smiling at the impatient rage of his captains who spoke of pistolling the preacher, and taking a more ingenious revenge by subjecting Mr. Zachray to a private homily longer and drearier than his own. Glasgow echoed the universal delight which hailed the Restoration, yet amid that joyous tumult a voice was heard from the depths of her cathedral crypt prophesying woe and lamentations—Cargill, the rugged confessor of a relentless Covenant, sparing not to denounce the faithless King even on the first ‘oak apple day’ of his reign. A few years pass, and, in the choir above, the low sweet voice of Leighton is heard in those angelic strains of eloquence and devotion which haunted the memory of his hearers to their dying day. A few years more, and the cathedral is beset by a surging crowd of Cameronians—fanatic wanderers from the hills, whose wrath will not tarry for the slow retribution of the law, but who are there, at their own hand, to purge the temple of God of ‘the prelatial intruders,’ as ‘dumb dogs,’ ‘Erastians,’ ‘schismatics,’ ‘Covenant-breakers,’ and ‘soul-murderers.’ Yet a few years more, and probably from the pulpits of the minster, as certainly from other pulpits in the town, the people are stirred up to armed tumult against that union with England which

has made their little burgh a great and wealthy city, and covered their river with the trade of nations. And now, 'last scene of all,' after centuries of neglect, the breaches of St. Kentigern's venerable High Church have been repaired, and its decayed places raised up—it is swept and garnished—those western portals so long closed are thrown open. Who, in these days of sudden and marvellous mutation, shall say for what or for whom they wait?

The First Pointed or Early English style passed into the Decorated or Middle Pointed by such gentle gradations, that it is difficult to mark the change by a date which shall hold good in all cases. In England, the year 1272 has been most generally taken, probably because it denotes the beginning of a new reign. On like ground the year 1286 may be assumed in Scotland, where it marks an epoch of ever calamitous memory—the close of a long season of peace without and happiness within, by the untimely death of the last Alexander. The tide of civilisation which for two centuries had flowed northwards without check, was now to be stayed—was even to be rolled back. The learned editors of the 'Ancient Register of Arbroath' do not hesitate to avow their belief that, 'regarding the country only in a material point of view, it may safely be affirmed that Scotland at the death of King Alexander III. was more civilised and more

prosperous than at any period of her existence, down to the time when she ceased to be a separate kingdom in 1707.' Half a century before this was written, the laborious editor of Wyntown had recorded a like confession. Commenting on the ancient lyric in which the Scots so long bewailed the death of 'the Peaceable King,' he acknowledged that then indeed 'the prosperity of Scotland suffered a long eclipse: "our gold was changed into lead;" and our fishermen and merchants into cut-throats and plunderers, whose only trade was war, whose precarious and only profit was the ruin of their neighbours.' Such were the effects of the dire struggle which closed its first scene on the field of Bannockburn—a victory which, weighed in the balance of the mere utilitarian, must be set down as a greater disaster to Scotland than the carnage of Flodden or the route of Pinkie Cleuch—

'Pharsalia tanti

Causa mali: cedant feralia nomina Cannae,  
Et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis.'

The first note of contest banished every English priest, monk, and friar from the northern realm. Its termination was followed by the departure of those great Anglo-Norman lords—the flower of the Scottish baronage—who, holding vast possessions in both countries, had so long main-

tained among the rude Scottish hills the generous example of English wealth and refinement.\* Then it was that De la Zouche and De Quincy, Ferrars and Talbot, Beaumont and Umfraville, Percy and Wake, Moubray and Fitz-Warine, Balliol and Cumyn, Hastings and De Coursi, ceased to be significant names beyond the Tweed—either perishing in that terrible revolution, or withdrawing to their English domains, there to perpetuate in scutcheon and pedigree the memory of their rightful claims to many of the fairest lordships of Albany, and to much of the reddest blood of the north.†

The consequences of this crisis, so far as regards ecclesiastical architecture, were twofold. Henceforth comparatively few buildings arose in the north, and these, with one or two exceptions, were on a meaner scale. In the second place, England now become an hereditary enemy, no longer supplied models for the sacred edifices beyond the Tweed, which received instead the impress of the new ally of France. In England,

\* It is related, for example, that, about the middle of the twelfth century, Robert de Bruce, lord of Skelton in England and of Annandale in Scotland, bestowed the latter domain on his second son—the progenitor of the Scottish Kings. The youth returned to Cleveland with a complaint that in his Scottish territory he had to eat oatcakes, whereupon the old lord gave him two English manors to find him in wheaten loaves. (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. part i. p. 267.)

† So the three garbs—the well-known bearing of the great and illustrious house of Cumyn—appear on Mr. Pugin's new Romanist chapel at Cheadle, to mark the claim of the founder, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the representation of the old Lords of Badenoch.

the First Pointed was succeeded about 1272 by the Middle Pointed, or Decorated, which obtained for about a century—being supplanted by the Perpendicular or Third Pointed, whose reign, beginning about 1377, closed only with the Reformation. In Scotland, the Middle Pointed may be said to have occupied the whole period between the death of King Alexander III. in the end of the thirteenth, and the change of religion in the middle of the sixteenth century. Until the country was finally thrown into the arms of France on the accession of the first Stuart king in 1371, the Middle Pointed in the north maintained an English character : after that event it gradually assumed a foreign aspect.

To one or other of these ages of Scottish Middle Pointed, we owe the cathedrals of Aberdeen, Fortrose, Lismore, and Edinburgh, with portions more or less extensive of Dunkeld, Brechin, Elgin, Glasgow, Dunblane, and Iona. The same style gave us the conventual churches of Melrose, Sweetheart, St. Monan in Fife, the Dominicans at St. Andrews, and the Franciscans at Aberdeen and at Stirling, with the gateway and refectory of Dunfermline, and portions of Holyrood, Balmerino, and Paisley. But its chief works were of less size and humbler pretension, as more commensurate with the decaying piety and diminished resources of the country—collegiate churches and chapels such as Roslin,

Restalrig, Crichton, Dalkeith, Corstorphine, Bothwell, Biggar, Carnwath, Hamilton, Maybole, Lincluden, Dundee, Crail, Foulis, Seton, Dunglass, the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh, St. John's at Perth, St. Saviour's at St. Andrews, St. Duthac's at Tain, King's College at Aberdeen, and the lately demolished choir of St. Nicholas in the same city. To this style also belong a few parochial churches, such as those of Lanark and Douglas in Strathclyde; Haddington, Whitekirk, and Midcalder in Lothian; Auldbar and St. Vigean in Angus.

The most beautiful, not only of the Scottish temples of this era, but of all the northern fanes of whatever time, is Melrose. The splendour of Middle Age romance which Scott has thrown around the place, has almost obliterated its older and holier renown, when it was described by Bede as the home of the meek Eata, the prophetic Boisil, the austere Cuthbert—when, with Coldingham and Abercorn and Tynningham, it was the lamp of that Anglo-Saxon Lothian which, deriving its own faith from Iona, sped the glad gift to many an English province, and even sent a missionary across the seas to become the apostle of the Austrasian tribes on the Meuse, the Waal, and the Rhine. The light of Melrose had long been quenched, when in the middle of the twelfth century St. David bestowed the territory on a colony of white-robed Cistercians from

Rievaulx. The site of the ancient shrine, on a lovely bank almost encircled by the Tweed, was still marked by a chapel, which bore the name of St. Cuthbert, and was the frequent resort of pilgrims. But the new monks chose their dwelling some little distance above, on the plain between the river and the skirts of 'Eildon's triple height.' They dug the foundations of their church in the spring of 1136, and it was consecrated before the summer of 1146 was at an end. This fabric was laid in ruins during the Wars of the Succession—the scourge of which fell so heavy on the Border abbeys, that the monks and novices of wealthy Kelso, though their house escaped destruction, were driven to beg food and clothing among the more fortunate monasteries remote from the English march. The rebuilding of Melrose, as we now see it, received the especial patronage of Bruce, and occupied almost his latest thoughts. In 1326 he made a grant to the monastery, for the fabric of its new church, of all the feudal casualties and crown issues of Teviotdale, until they should amount to two thousand pounds sterling—a sum equal to more than fifty thousand pounds in the present day. 'The Good Sir James of Douglas' was appointed steward and warden of the bequest; and the King, from his deathbed at Cardross on the Clyde, addressed a letter to his son, and successor, entreating him, in the tenderest terms and

by the most solemn adjurations, to see that the grant received liberal fulfilment, and that 'all love, honour, and privilege be rendered for evermore to the monastery of Melrose, which he himself had in such pious affection, that he had appointed his heart to be buried within its walls.' This remarkable letter was written on the 11th of May, and the King expired on the 7th of June, 1329; so that it must have been suddenly and in the last stages of his loathsome malady that the innocent blood of Cumyn and the unfulfilled vow of penance rose before his soul, and he resolved that his dead heart should be borne by the Knight of Douglas on that pilgrimage to the Holy Land which his living feet had failed to accomplish. But the memorable death of the Good Sir James frustrated the King's dying wish; and the heart, brought back from the Andalusian battle-field, was by Randolph entombed at Melrose 'with great worship.' The new building seems for a time to have proceeded slowly. The grant of King Robert was renewed by David II. in 1370, in terms which show that no considerable portion of the two thousand pounds had then been received; and, indeed, it appears that the full amount of the bequest had not been completed even in 1399. Great part of the edifice, however, must have been built before that time, by the help doubtless of the opulent revenues which the abbey enjoyed from other sources.

The character of its architecture—graceful symmetry, lavish profusion of ornament, exquisite delicacy of workmanship—has been familiar to every one since the publication of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which presents the structure in lines so admirably true, that they have passed as definitions into the handbooks of the ecclesiologists. It is less generally remembered that during most part of the century in which this glory of Scottish art was built, Teviotdale was an English county, and the monks of Melrose were liegemen of the English king.

Of the few northern cathedrals of the Decorated age, the finest was that of St. Peter and St. Boniface at Rosmarky or Fortrose. Mr. Neale dilates with enthusiasm on ‘the once glorious’ minster of the bishops of Ross. ‘The style,’ he says, ‘is the purest and most elaborate Middle Pointed; and the whole church, though probably not 120 feet long, must have been an architectural gem of the very first description. The exquisite beauty of the mouldings shows that in whatever other respect these remote parts of Scotland were barbarous, in ecclesiology at least they were on a par with any other branch of the Mediæval church.’

The larger but less ornate cathedral of St. Machar at Aberdeen was begun in 1366. The dean and chapter—Barbour, the venerable poet of the Bruce, being one of the dignitaries—taxed

themselves for the fabric in sixty pounds annually for ten years; the bishop surrendered certain revenues which were worth probably about twice that sum; and the Pope in 1380 made a liberal grant of indulgences to all the faithful who should stretch forth a helping arm to the work. But all these appliances availed only to raise the foundations of the nave a few feet above ground. Forty years passed before Bishop Henry Leighton (1422-1440) reared the two western towers, completed the wall of the nave, and founded the northern transept. His successor, Bishop Lindsay (1441-1459), paved and roofed the edifice. It was glazed by Bishop Spens (1459-1480). The pious Elphinstone (1487-1514)—one of those prelates who in their munificent acts and their laborious and saintly lives showed to the Scottish church, in her corruption and decay, the glorious image of her youth—built the great central tower and wooden spire, provided the great bells, and covered the roofs of nave, aisles, and transept with lead. Bishop Gawin Dunbar (1519-1531)—a meet successor to Elphinstone—built the southern transept and gave to the nave the flat ceiling of panelled oak which still remains, with its eight-and-forty shields, glittering with the heraldries of the Pope, the Emperor, St. Margaret, the Kings and Princes of Christendom, the Bishops and the Earls of Scotland. The choir seems never

to have been finished ; and of the transepts, only the foundations now remain. The nave is nearly perfect ; and its western front, built of the obdurate granite of the country, is stately in the severe symmetry of its simple design.

Dunkeld—reposing on the margin of the majestic Tay, in the deep bosom of wood, crag, and mountain—was early chosen as a religious home. Both St. Columba and St. Cuthbert appear in its traditions ; it seems to have preceded St. Andrews as the seat of the primate or ‘High Bishop’ of Albany ; and it could boast that among its lay-abbots in the eleventh century was numbered the progenitor of a race of Kings. The annals of the modern cathedral are not free from perplexity. The piers of the nave seem Romanesque ; and the pier-arches, the triforium, and the clerestory seem First Pointed ; yet we are told by the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, writing the history of the see early in the sixteenth century, that the foundations of the nave were laid in 1406 by Bishop Robert of Cardeny, who carried the work as high as the second tier of arches ‘commonly called the blind story,’—leaving its completion to Bishop Lauder, by whom the cathedral was dedicated in 1464. Commending the difficulty which these statements raise to the judgment of the ‘Oxford Architectural’ and the ‘Cambridge Camden’ societies, we pass to the aisle-less choir, built between

1318 and 1337 by 'Master Robert the mason,' during the pontificate of William de Saint Clair, that stout warrior whom Bruce is said to have styled 'his own bishop.' The great eastern window was filled with coloured glass by John of Peebles, who ruled the see from 1377 to 1396. The rest of the choir was glazed by his successor, who died in 1437. Bishop Lauder built the great tower and the chapter-house between 1470 and 1477. In the latter year the diocesan synod was held at Dunkeld for the first time, the clergy hitherto having been compelled, by terror of the Highland 'catheran,' to meet in the church of the Friars of Mount Carmel at Tullilum, under the walls of Perth. But a few years before, an Athol chief burst into the cathedral on the solemn festival of Pentecost, and the Bishop, who was celebrating high mass, only escaped the swords and arrows of the Clan Donnoquhy by clambering to the rafters of the choir. This minster was the scene of violence to the last. When the most illustrious of its prelates, Gawin Douglas—he who

' in a barbarous age  
Gave to rude Scotland Virgil's page '—

came to take possession of his throne in 1516, he was opposed by a shower of shot from the cathedral tower and bishop's palace; and it was not until the power of his still mighty house had

been gathered from Fife and Angus, that he obtained access to his church—‘thanks to the intercession of St. Columba,’ says the chronicle, ‘without loss of life or limb.’

The cathedral of St. Moluac, at Lismore—the seat of the bishops of a diocese, which was dismembered from Dunkeld in the beginning of the thirteenth century—is perhaps the humblest in Britain. The High Church of Argyll is less than sixty feet in length by thirty in breadth : it has no aisles, and seems to have had neither transepts nor nave. Contrasted with this small rude fane, the conventual church of Iona—which about the end of the fifteenth century became also the cathedral of the restored Scottish diocese of the Isles—will appear magnificent, though otherwise it is little likely to answer the expectations raised by so great a name. It is cruciform, but without aisles ; and the structure, which probably never was highly elaborated, has been so battered and repaired, that, if we except some curious capitals, and the tracery of the windows in the central tower, not much is left to requite the pilgrimage of the mere architectural antiquary. Modern change has deformed the little cathedral of Brechin, but the north-western tower and spire of the middle of the fourteenth, and the western window of the middle of the fifteenth century, have fortunately escaped. The hand of innovation has made still more free with the collegiate

church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, which, in 1633, became the cathedral of a new diocese erected by King Charles for the greatest of the Scottish divines of the great Caroline school—the learned and pious William Forbes. Except the beautiful lantern and the interior of the choir, little or nothing remains which we can associate with the memorable things seen or heard by the old walls of the High Church of the Scottish capital—Knox preaching ‘as if he would ding the pulpit in *blads* and fly out of it’—the tumult of the ‘Octavians’ in 1596, shouting for the ‘sword of the Lord and of Gideon’ to do justice on that ‘wicked Haman,’ as they styled poor King James of timorous and pedantic memory—the tempest of curses and lamentations, the wringing of hands and throwing of bibles and fald-stools with which the serving-wenches and Puritan gentlewomen of Edinburgh assailed the Book of Common Prayer in 1637—the captivity of Haddo, the proto-martyr of loyalty in the north—the funerals of Montrose, the most illustrious of the many brave and noble hearts sacrificed to appease a Covenant whose assemblies anathematized toleration as a heresy and deadly sin, whose ministers clamoured with Rutherford for ‘the exercising of justice against bloody malignants,’ or with Nevay thundered the judgment which befel Saul upon all who should sheathe the sword until they ‘had utterly destroyed the Amalekites.’

It is in the collegiate churches—which belong with scarcely an exception to the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries—that French characteristics are most strongly developed. Polygonal or three-sided apses are almost universal; double doorways, with flattened heads enclosed within a pointed arch, are numerous; battlements are comparatively rare, and graduated gables, or ‘corby steps’ are frequent: there are not a few instances of ‘gabled’ or ‘saddle-back’ towers; and the tracery of the windows partakes more or less of the Flamboyant. The church of St. Michael at Linlithgow—the scene of the apparition that warned King James IV. against the war of Flodden\*—is a large and fine example, though less foreign in its aspect than others of more recent date. It was built to replace a church consecrated in 1242, and burned down in 1424; and a glance at Mr. Billings’ view of the south elevation will suffice to show how widely the style differs from that

\* The Scottish antiquaries have failed to observe that this passage, one of the most picturesque in their later chronicles, is little more than a copy from an incident which is recorded by the English annalists as having befallen King Henry II. in the chapel of St. Piran, at Cardiff. Let the Scottish vision, as described in the text and notes of Marmion (cant. iv., stt. xiv.-xvii.) be compared with the English, as narrated by Higden (Twysd. X. Script. col. 2395), and at more length by Giraldus Cambrensis, in no fewer than three of his works—his *Hibernia Expugnata* (lib. i., cap. xxxix.), his *Itinerarium Cambriæ* (lib. i. cap. vi.), and his recently printed ‘*De Instructione Principum*’ (lib. ii. cap. xii.). That the story was well known in the north in the middle of the fourteenth century, is shown by the allusion made to it in the ‘*Scalacronica*’ (p. 43) of Sir Thomas Gray, of Heton, in Northumberland.

which prevailed in England in the same age. The western tower formerly rose into an imperial crown, supported on flying buttresses, such as still surmounts the cathedral of St. Giles at Edinburgh, the tower of King's College at Aberdeen (built about 1515, rebuilt about 1636, at the cost of more than ten thousand marks), the cross or Tolbooth steeple at Glasgow (built about 1628), and such as at one time surmounted the central tower of the parish church of Haddington (built with the rich choir about 1462). Of this kind of lantern only one example is known in England—that which, far excelling any of those in the north, crowns the tower of the church of St. Nicholas at Newcastle.

It is fortunate that Mr. Billings turned his attention betimes to the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh. This fine fragment—founded about 1461 by Mary of Gueldres, the widowed consort of King James II.—was pulled down only last summer [1848] to give wider room for a railway station! The plan of the building contemplated a choir and nave, with aisles to both, transepts, and a central tower; but no part of the nave was built, and the tower was never carried above the roof of the transepts. It is remarkable that most of the collegiate churches of the north were left in like unfinished state: in some instances the choir only has been built, in others a transept had been added, a tower com-

pleted or raised to half its height; but rarely indeed has the pile been made perfect in all its parts. It seems as if the grudging piety of a declining age grew weary before the humble works to which it aspired could be accomplished. Even Roslin—though sumptuous to excess in the multitude and labour of its decorations—will not altogether escape this censure. Of the design for which Sir William of Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, is said to have brought an architect from Italy in 1446, only a third part was executed, and that is in a style so impure that the costly interior is a thing as much to marvel at as to admire, while the exterior is altogether wanting in effect. Among the few complete collegiate churches of the Middle Pointed age, are those of Corstorphine (about 1430), Easter Foulis (about 1442), St. Salvator at St. Andrews (about 1456), St. Duthac at Tain (about 1481), King's College at Aberdeen (founded in 1500), St. John at Perth and St. Mary at Dundee. The last two have been 'restored,' but not without questionable changes. The tower at Dundee—almost the only thing of that kind in Scotland which lays claim to much notice—is thoroughly foreign in its character; and, as has been remarked, it is 'more like the tower of a Hôtel de Ville than of a church.' We are not left to infer the influence which France exercised upon Scottish architecture merely from the similarity

or identity of style : we have record of Frenchmen who had oversight of the chief temples of the north. A rhymed inscription on the south transept of Melrose relates that John Murdo, 'born in Parys certaynely,' had the charge of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Melrose, Paisley, and the abbeys in Nithsdale and Galloway.

The inexhaustible faculty of excuse which we see painted in the old domestic of Ravenswood, is more characteristic of the Scots as a nation than Sir Walter perhaps would have been altogether ready to confess. Thus, for several centuries, the invasion of King Edward I. was their never-failing apology for the absence of every sort of chronicle, record, and diploma, which—as Caleb Balderston said of the 'silver plate, napery and plenishing,' vainly looked for by strangers at Wolfscrag—'they should have, but had not.' That pretext has been exploded; and it begins now to be acknowledged that the muniments, of which the loss was so long deplored, never had any existence. But John Knox is still put forward as the cause why Scotland has so little to show of old ecclesiastical grandeur. That the rough and turbulent Reformer was the immediate, though perhaps the unwilling, means of destroying a few churches, and that his system indirectly wrought the ruin of many more, is undeniable; but the paucity of

ancient religious edifices in the north, and the melancholy state in which we behold them, must be accounted for on other grounds.

There is no reason to suppose that the number of stately parish churches in Scotland was ever considerable. Except in a few provinces, the manors—which, as in England, were so often conterminous with the parishes—were large, and many of the great lords held whole regions of the country. These might be tempted to build a decent structure for the parish of their residence, but could care little for the religious fabrics of districts which they saw perhaps only once a year, when they gathered their vassals to the hunt, or held their barons' courts in the open air, on the 'moot-hill,' or within the circle of 'standing stones.' The curse of impropriations too was heavy on Scotland. The abbeys possessed vast numbers of churches in all the corners of the land, and they grudged every penny of tithe which was diverted from their treasury to the uses of the parish. Even where the benefice continued free, and the landowners were resident, the poverty which prevailed from the beginning of the fourteenth century must in general have prevented the erection of any very ambitious edifice. We have a fervid description of the beauty of the chancel of Dollar in Clackmannanshire, in 1336, but the chronicle does not conceal that the building was only of hewn oak.

We know that at the same date the chancel of Edrom, in the Merse, was thatched with straw. Nor does there appear cause to believe that the great mass of the parish churches were in much better state, either in that age or until long after the Reformation. Nor will this account of Scottish churches give any surprise, when we read in the *Hand-book of English Ecclesiology* that, in North Wales, 'a large proportion of the churches resemble barns or cottages rather than churches;' that in Lancashire 'a church of a date anterior to the Reformation may be looked on as a rarity;' that in Durham 'the original churches are comparatively few, from the parishes being of great extent, and the large tracts formerly uninhabited;' that in Northumberland 'the churches are not numerous;' and that in Cumberland 'most of the churches are rude and humble structures.'

The Scottish monasteries were still unscathed long after the English houses, in the phrase of Burke, had been 'voluntarily surrendered to the King by the lawful proprietors, with the gibbet at their door.' The Russells were in Woburn, and Malmesbury was a weaver's shop, before a shrine was pillaged at St. Andrews or a tomb violated at Dunfermline. The first blow at the abbeys of the north was struck by the same Defender of the Faith who spoiled the southern convents. Henry vainly counselled his nephew James to

follow the example of 'the dissolution of the monasteries ;' but he succeeded by his agents in stirring up the mob of Dundee to destroy the Dominican and Franciscan friaries in that town, to sack Lindores, and to make an attempt upon Arbroath—a house doubly hateful to the English monarch as the possession of a great living adversary, Cardinal Betune, and as a monument of the renown of that dead enemy, whose bones he burned, whose name he struck from the calendar—St. Thomas of Canterbury. The tumult of Dundee was in the autumn of 1543 ; and in the following spring and summer Henry despatched an army to the north which gave Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Eccles, Newbottle, Holyrood, and Haddington to the flames, with many a collegiate and parish church in Lothian, the Merse, and Teviotdale. Great as was the havoc then made, it fell far short of Henry's wishes, for he had his heart set upon the destruction of Arbroath, and gave injunction that St. Andrews should be razed to the earth, 'so as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same.'

It was not until fifteen years after these things that the full tide of the Reformation broke upon the Scottish shore. The shock was fierce, but its fury has been greatly exaggerated. It does not appear that the example set by England

was much, if at all, exceeded, except in so far as that what was performed in the south chiefly by royal command, was accomplished in the north partly by lawless violence, partly by doubtful or defective authority. If Knox urged that 'to drive the rooks away, you must pull down the nests,'\* Henry VIII. had long before quoted the same adage for the same purpose. If Knox, at Perth and St. Andrews, preached violently or coarsely against image-worship, Queen Elizabeth appointed a scarcely less vehement 'Homily against Peril of Idolatry' to be read in every parish church of her realm. If, stirred up by Knox's sermons, the 'rascal multitude,' as he styled them, broke down shrine and statue, chantry and chapel, the English mob had done the same in the early years of Edward VI., and the work of demolition had been completed by the formal authority of that prince and his successor. If in driving out the friars and monks many acts of barbarity were done by Knox or by his followers, let it be remembered that Southey has written of 'the reckless destruction' of the

\* Spottiswoode speaks doubtfully of this as a mere report, adding that the 'words (*if any such did escape him*) were to be understood of the cloisters of monks and friars only.' The story is told by Drummond of Hawthornden (MSS. Bibl. Soc. Ant. Scot.) with a retort which is worth preserving: 'George Buchanan said to John Knox, when he would have had the kirks razed, by the simile, "Cut the trees and the crows will build no more,"—"And if ye had rent your breeches, John, whether would you throw them in the fire, or cause clout them? Whether would you go naked, or abide their mending?"' The original gives the point somewhat more broadly.

English monasteries, 'that, as it remains a lasting and ineffaceable reproach upon those who partook the plunder, or permitted it, so would it be a stain upon the national character, if men, when they break loose from restraint, were not everywhere the same.' If Mr. Riddell and the modern Scottish antiquaries bewail the turbulence of Knox as the cause of the lamentable destruction of Scottish records, let them read what Bale and Fuller, Anthony Wood and Henry Wharton have written of the manuscript treasures which perished in the English Reformation.

The received tradition of the indiscriminating havoc to which Knox and his fellow-preachers excited the Scottish populace, involves two grave mistakes in matter of history. It invests the early Reformers with an ascendancy over the national mind which they did not possess; it attributes to them a measure of Puritanical fanaticism which was the growth of a later generation.

It is impossible to look into any series of Scottish records of that time without meeting evidence that the doctrine and discipline of the Reformers, for many years after their legal establishment, had but a partial and insecure footing in Scotland. Notwithstanding the terrible penalties by which they were intrenched in the statute-book, perhaps their chief support was derived from the able and energetic counsellors of Elizabeth of England. Knox, the fancied

idol of the mob, appears as the frequent butt of popular slander and scurrility. Thirty years after the Reformation, his disciples had been unable to plant ministers in half the parish churches. The adherents of the old faith counted numbers or influence everywhere, and predominated in most parts of the Highlands and Isles, in the whole region north of the Dee, in Angus, in Nithsdale, and in part of Galloway. So obstinately did the ancient rites linger in the affection of the people, that the Parliament in 1581 had to forbid, by severe penalties, pilgrimages to chapels, wells, and crosses, church-wakes and holidays, singing of carols and lighting of bonfires. For more than half a century the Kirk continued to launch her thunders against pilgrimages to some of the more famous shrines; and even so lately as 1775 the historian of Murray complained that to 'the chapel of Our Lady of Grace' on the Spey, 'multitudes, even from the Western Isles, do still resort, and nothing short of violence can restrain their superstition.' In 1594 'the Popish Earls' of the north defeated in pitched battle the forces of the Protestant west. The victory was celebrated by the last high mass which was sung in the cathedral of Elgin. In the south, in 1580, a few Benedictines of Dunfermline, with doors bolted and barred, kept watch in their choir by the shrines of St. Margaret and St. David, the sepul-

chres of Bruce and Randolph. Twenty years later, mass was openly performed in many parish churches of the north, and Jesuits disputed with the Reformed preachers. Even in the west-land shires, in 1626, Paisley was such a 'nest of papists' that its Jenny Geddeses rose in tumult, and with insult and execration drove from the town a grave Protestant divine—Boyd of Trochrig, a name famous not only in Scotland, but among the French Huguenots—who attempted to establish himself as a preacher in the abbey. These instances, which it were easy to multiply, may serve to show that even if Knox had traversed the realm from side to side, preaching destruction to the cathedral and abbey churches, his exhortations would in most places have fallen on deaf ears.

But in truth the Scottish Reformer desired no such sweeping demolition. His 'First Book of Discipline'—the scheme of ecclesiastical polity which was tendered for the approbation of the State in 1560—provided for the maintenance of all the cathedral, conventual, and collegiate churches and chapels, which were at the same time parish churches. The qualification extended to the great majority of the noblest structures in the land. The orders, issued in 1560 for the burning of images and removal of altars, strictly enjoined that no harm should be done to the churches in glass-work or iron-work, in stall,

door, or window. In the second year of her existence, the Kirk prevailed with the State to pass an act for 'upholding and repairing parish churches,' and her efforts to enforce the statute were unceasing. In 1570 she proceeded against the commendator of Holyrood for allowing his abbey church to become ruinous, and for suffering some of the parish churches in his patronage to be turned into sheep-folds. In 1571 she instructed certain commissioners to deal with the State 'for preservation and upholding' of the cathedral of Glasgow. Knox was present when these instructions were given : only two months before he had recorded his emphatic approbation of a sermon by one of his colleagues, inveighing against 'the foul deformity and desolation of the kirks and temples, which, more like sheep-cots than the house of God,' argued that there was no 'right religion in most part of the realm.' The 'upholding of cathedral kirks which are parish kirks' was again before the General Assembly in 1573, when the existing laws were ordered to be enforced, until more effective provisions should be enacted by the Parliament. In 1588 the Kirk appealed to the King, demanding that he should interpose to avert the ruin which threatened Glasgow, Dunfermline, and Dunblane. It would be superfluous after all this to refute the story that the cathedral of Glasgow was only saved from Knox and his mob by the arms of the

honest craftsmen of the city. The legend, in its first and only ancient form, is placed not in 1559, but in 1578—is told not of John Knox, but of Andrew Melville. Even of him it can scarcely be true. That he may have urged that the large sums in which the citizens (much to their credit) taxed themselves for repairing their High Church, might be better applied in building new churches on the Genevan model, we can readily believe; but if he had carried the matter so far as has been pretended, there must have been trace of it in some contemporary record.

What, then, are the causes why the wreck of ecclesiastical buildings has been so much more general in Scotland than in England? One obvious reason is the rejection of the episcopate, depriving the cathedrals of their natural guardians and the revenues set apart of old for their preservation. Nor should it be forgotten that in the south some of the grandest of the conventual churches were rescued, or have been upheld, by their conversion into cathedrals of newly erected sees. But there was no such happy accident of reformation in the north—no churchman to devise or prince to perform for Holyrood and Melrose what Cranmer and Henry accomplished for Westminster and Peterborough. In some cases—as in Aberdeen and Elgin—the necessities of the Scottish State, by stripping the roofs of their lead, accelerated the work of decay. A clan

feud ruined one cathedral—that of Dornoch, which was given to the flames during a war between the Murrays and the Mackays in 1570. We have enumerated the abbeys of Lothian and the Border which were burned in the English invasion of 1544: they were never repaired. In western Cunningham, Kilwinning survived to 1591; in northern Murray, Kinloss was ruined only by the fall of the spire in 1574. The homes of the old religion were still guarded in their desolation by the memory of their former sanctity, and by terror of the fate which, in popular belief, awaited their sacrilegious destroyers. This feeling was not confined to the followers of the fallen hierarchy. Knox himself had solemnly denounced the vengeance of God upon the ‘merciless devourers of the patrimony of the kirk;’ and it was not until 1591 that his disciples began to complain that ‘sacrilege was esteemed no sin.’ Alas! within half a century they themselves, however unwittingly, were found acting on the very opinion which they had condemned—making common cause against the King and the Bishops, with those ‘merciless devourers’ of ecclesiastical spoil whom Knox had adjured them to shun and resist.

The ill-starred Covenant was no sooner called into being than its wrath fell upon the abbeys and cathedrals. The purgation to which these had been subjected at the Reformation by

Knox and Murray was not sufficient for the wilder Puritanism of Henderson and Argyll, and stringent edicts went forth for the destruction of all 'idolatrous monuments.' Then it was that the niches of Melrose were emptied of their statues of prince and prelate—that the sculptured pillar at Ruthwell was broken in three—that the synod of Argyll was let loose upon Iona, to cast its monuments into the sea and its manuscripts into the flames—that the magnificent rood-screen of Elgin and the stately altar-screen of Aberdeen were hewn in pieces—and that in the city of Jameson, 'the Scottish Vandyke,' a portrait of an old mayor or provost was ordered to be removed from the vestry, where it had hung for nearly two centuries, as 'savouring somewhat of popery.' We have no journal of any of the northern 'Will Dowsings' who executed these outrages, but some of the memoirs of the time show us how they went to work. Here is an account by honest Spalding, an eye-witness of their doings at Elgin; we modernise the spelling, and slightly abridge the phraseology:—

'Monday the 28th December 1640. Mr. Gilbert Ross minister at Elgin, the young Laird Innes, the Laird Brodie, and some others, broke down the timber partition-wall dividing the kirk of Elgin from the choir, which had stood since the Reformation. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, il-

luminated with stars of bright gold, the Crucifixion of our blessed Saviour. This piece was so excellently done, that the colours and stars never faded or vanished, but kept fresh and sound as they were at the beginning, notwithstanding the kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no whole window therein-till, to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, nor wet, which myself saw. And, marvellous to consider, on the other side, towards the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment. All is thrown to the ground. It was said this minister caused bring home to his house the timber, and burn the same, but each night the fire went out: whereat the servants and others marvelled, and the minister left off to burn any more of that timber. A great boldness, without warrant of the King, to destroy churches at that rate! Yet it is done at command of the Assembly.'

We learn from a pleasant volume of 'Memoirs of the Family of Rose of Kilravock,' edited for the Spalding Club by Mr. Cosmo Innes, that the spoils of the rood-loft of Elgin were applied to introduce the abomination of a gallery in a neighbouring parish church. The rere-dos of the high altar at Aberdeen—'matchless within all the kirks of Scotland'—was turned to the same base use. We again quote from Spalding:—

'Upon the 16th of December, 1642, Dr. Guild and Mr. William Strachan, our minister, began the down taking of the back of the high altar upon the east wall of Bishop Gawin Dunbar's aisle, as high near as the

ceiling, curiously wrought of fine wainscot, so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece. It is said the craftsman would not put his hand to the down taking, till our minister laid first hand thereto, which he did, and then the work began. And in down taking of one of the three timber crowns, which they thought to have gotten down whole and unbroken, it fell suddenly upon the kirk's great ladder, broke it in three pieces, and itself all in *blads*, and broke some pavement with the weight thereof. Now our minister devised a loft, going athwart the church south and north, which took away the stately sight and glorious show of the body of the whole kirk; and with this back of the altar he decored this beastly loft.'

The iconoclasts of the Covenant had scarcely done their work, when they were succeeded by yet more ruthless spoilers—those troopers of Cromwell whom Mr. Macaulay represents as so distinguished by 'austere morality and the fear of God,' that 'no oath was heard, no drunkenness seen' among them, no insult offered to 'the honour of woman,' no 'rough gallantry complained of by any servant-girl,' but who appear in the sober police-sheets of the kirk-session registers as spreading debauchery through the Scottish glens and hamlets, and teaching the Scottish cities and seaports new excesses of licentiousness. These gifted Puritans stabled their steeds in the parish churches, and made cathedrals and abbeys their quarries for building

forts over which they planted the banner of 'Emmanuel.' To raise the walls of their garrison at Inverness, they ruined the beautiful High Church of Ross, and completed the wreck of that Cistercian monastery of Kinloss, which, in the last corrupt days of the Scottish church, had been hallowed by native piety and munificence, and adorned by the arts and learning of Italy and France. They made an arsenal of the venerable church of St. John at Ayr, within the walls of which Bruce had held his parliament. They turned the chapel of St. Ninian at Aberdeen into a barrack, and fortified it with ramparts of stone torn from the buttresses of the cathedral and the ruins of the bishop's palace. Monuments which national pride had spared amid the ravages of the Covenant, found no mercy from alien sectaries, who defaced the sepulchre of the Good Sir James of Douglas, because he had been 'an enemy to the English nation,' and English mothers, three centuries before, had stilled their children with the terror of his name.

Had the work of devastation and decay been stayed even at this late period, the ecclesiologist would not have had to mourn over Scotland as the barren waste which she now is. It needs but a glance at the books of topography of the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, to see how much has perished since that time. It was not until after

the Revolution that the central spire of Aberdeen—undermined thirty years before by Cromwell's soldiers—gave way, crushing the transepts in its fall. The great tower of Elgin outlived the Union: it fell on an Easter morning, and so completed the ruin of that magnificent church, within the choir and towers of which, still brilliant with ancient fresco or distemper, disciples of the old worship were wont to assemble in the middle of the previous century. All feeling of awe or reverence had now vanished from the minds of the people, and the ecclesiastical ruins were spoiled without compunction or remorse. If a congregation had taken shelter in some aisle or transept of a huge conventual or cathedral pile, down went choir or nave to keep their little place of meeting in repair. Nor was this all, or the worst. Melrose supplied materials for building a tolbooth and mending a mill. Kelso was turned into a jail. Arbroath was farmed out as a common quarry. Tungland, whose flying abbot still lives in the satire of Dunbar, became a prey to 'the pilfering spirit of the country people.' So it was also at Glenluce, at Inchaffray, at Urquhart—everywhere. Even where churches remained entire, and might have endured for ages, they were in many cases wantonly pulled down by unconscious town-councils or unreflecting 'heritors,' to make way for new buildings more accordant internally with

the favourite type of a big lecture-room, more congenial externally to the prevailing fashion of the day—that fashion now copying the deformity of a gigantic barn, now aping the graces of a classic temple, now running to seed in that bristling conglomeration of pinnacles which seems to be the distinguishing characteristic of ‘Modern Scotch Gothic.’

The history of ecclesiastical architecture in the north may be said to cease at the Reformation. The restoration of the episcopate in 1610 was followed in some parts of the country by the erection of a few parish churches, but in a style so mean as to possess scarcely any character. The ‘Kirk of Alloway,’ for which Burns’ spirited tale secured a niche in Grose, is a favourable example of the class. The Primate Spottiswoode endeavoured to introduce a higher type, by building at Dairsie in Fife ‘a church after the English form.’ We know it only in the imperfect representations to be found in Sibbald and Swan, which do not say much for its merit ; but assuredly it should have a place in Mr. Billings’ work, were it only to show us what a Scottish archbishop considered to be the model for an English church in 1622. Of the debased style—a strange mixture of Gothic and classic features—which prevailed a few years later, the Trón Kirk at Edinburgh and the chapel of

Heriot's Hospital are familiar examples. Classic types predominated during the dreary eighteenth century; but one interior of this era may be mentioned with praise—the design which Gibbs, the architect of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, contributed for the erection of the West Kirk in his native city of Aberdeen. There was a return to Gothic forms soon after the beginning of the present century, but it is unfortunate for Scotland that so many of her most ambitious efforts in this style were made when there had been little progress in its scientific study. The Episcopal church of St. John the Evangelist at Edinburgh avoided the sin of a gallery—‘that beastly loft’ is downright Spalding's phrase—but it has no chancel. Mr. Rickman furnished the design for the small parish church of the Ramshorn—since christened St. David's—at Glasgow: it is not one of his happiest efforts, but is above every other attempt at modern Gothic in the commercial metropolis of the north. More recently one or two Episcopal chapels in the country have been built from plans of English architects; and one native Scot—Mr. Henderson of Edinburgh—is making himself known by buildings for the Episcopal Church, of no small merit.

The last forty or fifty years have seen the erection of many hundreds of parochial and dissenting churches in Scotland. The number

which will escape the censure of the most indulgent taste, is small ; but in almost every instance there has been an intention to do well, which must be recognised with gratitude. The reproach which Scott put into the mouth of Andrew Fairservice, that many a dog-kennel in England was better than many a Scottish church, is no longer true ; but that it was merited during nearly two centuries is not to be questioned. In 1631 the churches beyond the Tweed are deplored by one of the most learned of Scottish divines as vile cabins and squalid huts—*'viles casæ et sordida tuguria.'* Archbishop Abbot, whose Puritanism made him regard things in Scotland with no unfriendly eye, related to Sir Henry Spelman that, in 1605, he found only one bell in Edinburgh, and that not only had the country churches no bells, but when, at Dunbar, he asked how they chanced to be without such a commodity, 'the minister, a crumpt unseemly person, thinking the question as strange, replied, "It was one of the Reformed churches!"' The same age proscribed as papistical the degree of Doctor in Divinity, which is now so universal in the north, that it will be difficult by and by to find a 'placed minister,' much less a dissenting preacher, without it. In the following century, Captain Burt tells how the spouse of an English colonel, having proposed to a minister's wife in Lothian or the Merse to hang her pew with

cloth, was met with the exclamation, 'Line the desk ! troth, madam, my goodman would think that rank popery !' Bells were not universal in parish churches, even at the end of the last century. It often happened that where they were provided, there was nowhere to hang them : a theologian of the year 1679 inveighs against 'that pitiful spectacle, bells hanging upon trees for want of bell-houses.' Such a 'bell-tree' is still shown in the park at Auldbar ; but here, obviously, the bell was not placed on the church for the same reason that the campanile at the Curral in Madeira is built in the churchyard wall, and at the sequestered church of Ardcloch in Murray on the neighbouring promontory—in order that the bell might be better heard—the church itself, in all these cases, lying in a deep ravine. In the beginning of the reign of George III., Pennant wrote that 'in many parts of Scotland our Lord seems still to be worshipped in a stable, and often in a very wretched one : many of the churches are thatched with heath, and in some places are in such bad repair as to be half open at the top.' This statement is confirmed by what we find in the Statistical Account, published between 1791 and 1799. We read there of two churches at Morven, in the West Highlands, which, 'without seats or bells, might as properly be called sheds'—of the church at Glenmuick, in the Middle Highlands, 'thatched

with heath'—of Fetteresso, on the east coast, 'in the area of which pools of water stand for several days after a heavy rain'—of St. Mungo's, in Annandale, as 'having no bell, neither plastered nor ceiled, the seats in a ruinous condition.' More generally, the minister of Glenorchy says, 'Many of our country kirks are dark, damp, and dirty hovels;' and the minister of Bedrule, on the Border, assigns the 'very indecent state of many of the parish churches' as one of the reasons of the increase of dissenters, 'whose houses of worship, though built by contribution, are decent and comfortable.' Until a date comparatively recent, few country churches, however respectable otherwise, were ceiled; but before the English ecclesiologist admire the fashion, let him hear the use to which the open timbers were occasionally put. A minister of Dunlop has narrated with great glee, as a proof of the popularity of one of his predecessors, that on the Sunday when the annual sacrament was to be administered, the church was so crowded from an early hour, you 'might have heard the boogers cracking at six o'clock in the morning,' which he explains, you might 'have seen the folks sitting on the *balks* [*i.e.* tie beams] of the kirk like bykes [*i.e.* swarms] of bees.' To all this might be added melancholy instances of gross and wilful profanation. Knox and his colleagues carried their respect for the house of

God so far as to prohibit the holding of civil courts 'within kirks;' but it is told of some of those who professed to be the followers of Knox, during the exciting period which succeeded the Revolution of 1688, that they 'eat, drink, and even smoke' within the walls of parish churches. The feeling which led to such miserable doings would seem to have arisen from a fanatical wish to testify against the reverence of holy places supposed to be inculcated by 'popery and prelacy.' We may charitably hope that such outrages would have been avoided, if they who committed them had only known that, in the age immediately preceding the Reformation, the Scottish temples were so habitually profaned to secular uses, that even in conventual churches women exposed linen for sale as in a market; and that in England, immediately after the Reformation, it was found necessary to admonish the people by authority, that the church is 'the house of prayer, not the house of talking, of walking, of brawling, of minstrelsy, of hawks, of dogs.'

We return to Mr. Billings' work, to add an expression of hope that it will receive that liberal patronage to which its merit gives it so just claim. If Scotland has been culpably negligent of the monuments bequeathed to her charge by the Church of the Middle Ages, the reproach

cannot too soon be wiped away. Even they who think worst of the latter days of that ecclesiastical system—and we believe that it would not be easy to exaggerate the general corruption of the church and state of Scotland in the year immediately before the Reformation\*—even those, we say, who judge most harshly of the Mediæval hierarchy, may find wisdom as well as charity in the remark of Schlegel, that it is not just always to associate the idea of its latest degradation with the image of the thing itself, and thus in a moment to blunt all feeling of sympathy for the noble memorials of departed ages.

\* See, on this point, the candid confession of a distinguished ecclesiastic of the seventeenth century, who died when on the point of being raised to the purple, George Cone, in his '*De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos*,' (1628) pp. 89-91.



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